

HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XIV

1903

GREENOUGH MEMORIAL VOLUME



PUBLISHED BY HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University, and the publication is supported by a fund of \$6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856.

The present volume is dedicated to the memory of Professor JAMES BRADSTREET GREENOUGH, through whose efforts the publication fund was secured, and to whom, in large measure, the success of the Studies is due. It includes contributions from two scholars not connected with Harvard University, Mr. W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., Fellow and Subrector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and by Mr. KARL WESTON, A.M., Instructor in Williams College, who, while a member of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, became interested in the artistic study of the illustrated manuscripts of Terence, copying in colors the miniatures of the Phormio in four of them.

The additional expense involved in the publication of the plates accompanying this article has been met by a special fund generously contributed by classmates, pupils, and friends of Professor GREENOUGH.

The Editorial Committee express their thanks to Professor G. L. KITTREDGE for the sketch of the life of Professor GREENOUGH.

MINTON WARREN,	}	EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.
ALBERT ANDREW HOWARD,		
CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE,		

IACOBO BRADSTREET GREENOUGH

SODALI NVPER AMISSO

O MIHI TER DENOS STVDIIIS CONIVNCTE PER ANNOS,
NON VMQVAM LAESO FOEDERE AMICITIAE,
TE MATVRVM AEVI, SI QVIS IAM TEMPORA SPECTET,
SED CORDE ATQVE ANIMO MORS RAPVIT IVVENEM.
SIC VEGETVM INGENIVM NOBIS MORS ABSTVLIT ATRA,
QVODQVE SENESCEBAT DISCERE SEMPER AVENS,
INGENIVM VELOX, ARDENS, NIL AB SE ALIENVM
QVOD VITAS HOMINVM TANGERET ESSE PVTANS.
LINGVA SED INTERPRES VITAE TIBI MAXIMA CVRA,
DAEDALA SERMONVM, LIBERA VAFRA POTENS;
VERBORVM ET MORES TV VESTIGARE SOLEBAS,
CAVSAS ATQVE VIAS EXPLICVISSE SAGAX.
AVIA NATVRAE QVOQVE AMABAS, ARDVA MONTIS,
ANTIQVAM SILVAM, FLVMINA SAXA LACVS.
HAEC BENE TE NORANT; HVC LAETVS SAEPE SODALES
DVXISTI VNANIMOS, OTIA DOCTA SEQVENS.
INTER QVOS EGO NVNC MAERENS TIBI, DVLICIS AMICE,
COGOR IN AETERNVM DICERE AVE ATQVE VALE.

C. L. S.

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J. B. Greenough

JAMES BRADSTREET GREENOUGH

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BY G. L. KITTREDGE

JAMES BRADSTREET GREENOUGH, son of James and Catherine (Greenough) Greenough, was born at Portland, Maine, May 4, 1833, and died at Cambridge, October 11, 1901. After studying at the Boston Latin School and with a private tutor, he entered Harvard College in 1852, and graduated in due course with the Class of 1856. The estimate which his fellow students put upon his literary ability is shown by their electing him to the position of Class Orator.

Mr. Greenough had at first no thought of an academic career. He entered the Law School in the fall of 1856, remained there one term, and removed to Marshall, Mich., where he continued his studies in the office of Messrs. Brown & Van Arman. He was admitted to the Michigan bar, and practiced law in that State until 1865, when, on his return from a visit to Europe, he was unexpectedly offered a Latin Tutorship in his own college. The invitation was not unwelcome; for, although Mr. Greenough found much that was agreeable in his Western surroundings, his interest in classical study had always been keen, and the duties of a college teacher seemed likely to be congenial. He accepted the appointment and began, in September of that year, the long and fruitful term of academic service which closed with his resignation, on account of failing health, August 31, 1901. In 1873 he became Assistant Professor, and in 1883 Professor of Latin, a position which he held for nearly twenty years.

The moment at which Mr. Greenough began his career as a teacher of the classics was marked by great activity in the field of Comparative Philology. The second edition of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* had appeared in 1857-61, and Schleicher's famous *Compendium* in 1862. Mr. Greenough turned with avidity to these studies, and soon made himself acquainted with Sanskrit, a language which was then *terra incognita* to most Latin scholars. His interest in syntactical questions

was stimulated by the *Greek Moods and Tenses* of Professor Goodwin, first published in 1860. He observed that the Latin moods had never been so treated as to satisfy the requirements of a sound view of linguistic development. It was still customary, for example, to regard the subjunctive as a mood invented to express some vague mental conception; the Latin conditional sentences had never been accurately classified, and, in general, the principles of historical syntax had not been applied with any steadiness to the elucidation of Latin phraseology. Mr. Greenough attacked these problems with characteristic ardor and independence of judgment, and in 1870 the first fruits of his investigations were put forth in a pamphlet entitled *Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive*.

This little monograph is sufficiently remarkable in itself, but when we consider the circumstances of its production, it must be described as a truly wonderful performance. The author had received excellent instruction at college,—the names of his teachers, Felton, Child, and Lane, need only be mentioned to indicate how good his training must have been,—but it was of course such instruction as befits an undergraduate. He had taken no “graduate course,” and his application to the subject of comparative grammar had coincided with engrossing duties as a college tutor. Yet in the first five years of his career as a scholar he had brought himself, by his own efforts, to a position in which he could substantially advance science in his chosen field. The *Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive* has long been out of print, and few scholars of the younger generation have ever seen it. Those who examine it are surprised to find therein, stated for the first time, a number of important principles which they learned at school, and which they have unquestioningly accepted as matters of immemorial knowledge. Nor is that all. The method which Mr. Greenough outlined in his pamphlet anticipated that followed by Delbrück in his *Conjunctiv und Optativ*,¹—a work which appeared in the following year, and which is recognized as effecting a kind of revolution in syntactical study. It is noteworthy that two scholars, working in complete independence, should have thought out substantially the same method and should have arrived at

¹ *Der Gebrauch des Conjunctivs und Optativs im Sanskrit und Griechischen*. Halle, 1871.

results so nearly identical in certain essentials of doctrine.¹ Not less remarkable is the subsequent history of the two works. Delbrück's *Conjunctiv und Optativ* has become a grammatical classic, and is continually referred to as the starting-point of an important branch of linguistic science. Mr. Greenough's less elaborate but equally original monograph, being privately printed and never widely circulated, attracted little attention outside of a small circle of American scholars. Yet it would be a mistake to infer that the *Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive* failed of its influence on syntactical study. On the contrary, it had an almost immediate effect, which has grown and ramified till it is no longer possible to trace it. This comes from the fact that the method and the results of the *Analysis* were applied in the preparation of a school-book which appeared in 1872 under the title *A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges, founded on Comparative Grammar*, by Joseph H. Allen and James B. Greenough (Boston: Ginn Brothers). Allen and Greenough's *Grammar* has, in successive editions, been extensively used ever since in American schools and colleges, and is familiar to all American scholars and to many of their European colleagues. Its doctrines have therefore had the widest circulation, and some of its most original ideas long ago became common intellectual property. It would be hard to overestimate the effect which this book has had on the special studies of American syntacticians, and it is not unlikely that many of these are quite unaware of the actual source of some of their most familiar doctrines.

A passage from the Preface to the first edition of the *Grammar* will make clear the close connection between this text-book and the monograph of 1870: "In the Syntax, our design has been to leave no principle untouched which a student needs during his school and college course. We have attempted to show, as far as possible, the reason and origin of constructions, for which purpose notes have been inserted where it seemed desirable. Many things in the treatment of the Subjunctive, of the Protasis and Apodosis (in which we have followed Professor Goodwin's analysis), of Temporal particles, of the Infinitive and Participles, and much of the matter of the notes, appear for the first

¹ See Hale, *The Cum-Constructions*, pp. 248, 249; Morris, *On Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax*, p. 14.

time in a school-book, and are the results of the authors' own investigations in Comparative Grammar."

We must return, for a moment, to the *Analysis*. The enunciation of the main principles of Comparative Syntax is sufficiently remarkable to be quoted at some length :

"It is generally acknowledged that no satisfactory analysis of the Latin Subjunctive has yet been made, notwithstanding the great advance within the last few years of grammatical science in other directions. In fact, the Latin Grammar is much less rationally set forth than even the Greek. One cause of this is undoubtedly found in the difficulties attending the analysis of the *forms* of the modal system in the Indo-European languages, upon which any sound philosophy of the moods must finally rest, and this cause will probably disappear in the continued advance of grammatical science. There is, however, another cause which has also, I think, impeded the analysis of the forms themselves ; which is, that, in the rational or logical analysis of the *uses* of the moods, a wrong method has been pursued from the beginning.

"The attempt has been made to find in all the uses of the moods as they finally became developed in the flourishing period of the languages, and that too with each language separately, some underlying principle common to all the uses ; an attempt which, as it seems to me, has been and must in the nature of things be futile. Sufficient allowance has not been made even by the comparative grammarians for the growth or development of constructions. It is obvious that in the meanings of words and the uses of constructions, changes take place in course of time by which the original idea is entirely obscured. Now in the modal systems, however logically they may be used in any one language, it seems impossible to find in all the usages even of a single language any general principle which applies to them all. Nor is it at all probable, *a priori*, that a mood should be invented to express any general idea, such as a 'subjective conception,' 'something contingent or hypothetical,' or 'a possibility,' or 'an idea less definite than the Indicative.' In fact, it is almost inconceivable that a mood, as such, in the modern sense of that term should be invented at all. Wants of expression do not present themselves in this abstract, indefinite manner ; and it is the want, in this as in other cases, that suggests the supply. Forms do not grow with the consciousness of those who use them. A special modification

of the thought is wanted in a particular case, and a combination of words is made, empirically as it were, to express it. This form by usage becomes the idiom of the language, and having once been used is extended by analogy to other modes of thought in various directions, which may, in course of time, diverge widely from each other, though originally radiating from a common centre."

This brief creed, it will be noticed, contains the root of the whole matter. It will be recognized as the principle which has in the main regulated syntactic investigation for the past thirty years, and which has been more than once put forth as a novelty by some fresh discoverer.

Applying this principle to his special subject, Mr. Greenough decides that "the only meaning that seems to be common to all the uses of the Subjunctive is that of futurity." He supports his position by considerations of form and by comparison with Greek, Gothic, and Old Persian. He then inquires "how this idea of a Future applies to the different constructions of the Latin Subjunctive."

Beginning with an analysis of Conditional Sentences, Mr. Greenough lays stress on the use of the Present Subjunctive in the protasis and apodosis of "less vivid" future conditions, and of the Perfect Subjunctive (parallel to the Future Perfect Indicative) in certain cases of protasis. With great subtlety he distinguishes those peculiar cases in which the Imperfect and Pluperfect are used when a future condition is transferred to past time without an implication of falsity or unreality (as in the well-known *Caesar qui cogere posset, si peteret* of Horace, *Sat. i, 3, 4*). He also explains the "contrary to fact" use of the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive as due to the transference of a future condition to past time with the implication that "the time for the happening of the condition has, at the time of the writer, already passed, . . . so that if the condition remains such, it is seen to be a mere supposition contrary to the fact." The extension of this theory to general conditions with the Present Subjunctive in protasis is skilfully made: "This construction of the general condition transferred to absolute past time gives the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in general conditions, commonly called the Subjunctive of repeated action." The conditional relatives and the particles of comparison are then briefly discussed.

The explanation of Consecutive Clauses as of future origin is extremely ingenious. Mr. Greenough seeks the origin of this construction in the

relative clause used to define the "character or qualities" of the antecedent (the Subjunctive of Characteristic), which he takes to indicate (at first) that the antecedent is described as one who "*would* do" so and so "in any case if it arose." After the idiom is established, the demonstrative in the main clause disappears, and thus in time a pure Clause of Result arises. Of these Clauses of Characteristic the *qui*-causal (or concessive) construction and the use of *qui* in restrictive clauses are a mere variety or development.

It is impossible in this sketch to follow the treatise through all its ramifications, but attention must be called to Mr. Greenough's explanation of the subjunctive with narrative *cum*, a construction which is still regarded as one of the toughest problems of historical syntax. This explanation he makes a corollary to Hoffmann's doctrine of absolute and relative time, but it is, in fact, entirely independent of that doctrine, as the following sentences show :

"If the Subjunctive does not express time as definite, as a particular point in the present, past, or future, but as a limitation of the main clause, then it must describe time by its qualities, or properties, or character, and the relative particles of time are precisely parallel with other relatives, so that there is the same difference between *Cum depulsus est*, and *Cum depulsus esset*, that there is between *is qui depulsus est*, and *is qui depulsus esset*. What this difference is, we have already seen. The first points to a definite individual who as a fact was expelled, the other for some purpose or other expresses the fact as a property or quality of the antecedent. One is *the* man who was expelled, the other *a* man who was expelled.

"Precisely also as the quality expressed by other relative clauses may be used for various purposes, so in temporal clauses the quality of the time may appear to be consonant with the action of the main clause, and so *cum* may pass over into 'while' or 'since,' and *dum*, *dummodo* into 'provided' ; or the quality may be at variance with the main action, and *cum* passes into 'although.'"

We have here a luminous statement of that doctrine of *cum* which was afterwards adopted by Professor Hale, who developed and elaborated it in his well-known treatise on the *Cum-Constructions*, Part II (Ithaca, N. Y., 1889). Its complete independence of Hoffmann's theories comes out clearly in this monograph, the First Part of which (published in

1887) demolishes the structure of Hoffmann, while the Second Part upholds the theories set forth in the *Analysis* of 1870. In fact, Mr. Greenough himself, in the 1888 edition of his *Grammar*, abandoned the terminology of Hoffmann, restating his own explanation of *cum* temporal without using the terms *absolute* and *relative time*. It should be added that Professor Hale carefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Greenough, referring both to the *Analysis* and to the 1884 edition of the *Latin Grammar*, so that he is not responsible for the misnomer under which the Greenough doctrine of the *cum*-constructions is most commonly known among foreign scholars. Nor is the value of Professor Hale's contributions to the subject in any way lessened by the facts to which his acknowledgment gives expression.

Delbrück's *Conjunctiv und Optativ* appeared, as we have seen, in 1871, the year after the publication of Mr. Greenough's *Analysis*, and was of course quite independent of that work. Mr. Greenough immediately greeted the German book in a special article which appeared in the *North American Review* for October, 1871.¹ His criticism is searching, but highly appreciative. In particular, he declines to accept Delbrück's *will* and *wish* as the distinction between the Subjunctive and the Optative. "It is a just criticism," he remarks, "to ask, How came the moods to develop in a steady stream, and always in one direction, up to the point of *will* (i. e. command) and *wish*? Why did they only then begin to divide in various directions and weaken again to the almost pure futures they are in later times in many of their uses? It seems much more natural that the development should have left in the languages traces of the different stages through which it has passed." This is a criticism which has never been answered, and which is, indeed, unanswerable. Delbrück, as is well known, still maintains his *will* and *wish* theory, though with important modifications.² He was, however, impressed by Mr. Greenough's criticism, as appears by the following interesting letter, which he sent to the latter in December, 1871, after receiving from Curtius a copy of the review just mentioned :

¹ Vol. CXIII, pp. 415-27.

² *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, IV, Syntax, II, 374 (1897).

JENA, 12. Dec.

SEHR VEREHRTER HERR!

Curtius schickte mir in diesen Tagen das Heft der *North American Review*, welches eine Recension meiner Schrift über Conj. und Opt. enthält. Da ich vermuthe, dass Sie der Verfasser derselben sind, so erlaube ich mir, Ihnen meinen Dank für Ihr freundliches Urtheil und für Ihre Einwürfe auszusprechen, die mir viel zu denken gegeben haben. Ich möchte gern über einige derselben in Verhandlung mit Ihnen treten, und muss nur um Entschuldigung bitten, dass ich mich dabei nicht Ihrer Muttersprache bedienen kann, die ich zwar lese aber sehr schlecht schreibe.

Sie sind der Meinung *properly the two* (nämlich *methods*) *ought to go hand in hand and no results ought to be considered satisfactory that are not arrived at independently through both.* (Seite 416) Darin haben Sie ganz gewiss recht, und ich kann nur erwiedern, dass ich meine Resultate auch nicht für *satisfactory* halte, ich bin mir bewusst, dass zwischen den absoluten Grundbegriffen und den von mir aufgestellten relativen eine Kluft vorhanden ist, die ich nicht ausfüllen kann. Zwar bei dem Conjunctiv ginge es allenfalls an, und es erscheint mir jetzt auch natürlicher, den futurischen Conj. als Rest aus alter Zeit aufzusetzen, als wie ich es gethan habe, abgeblasst aus dem Begriff des Willens. Dagegen bei dem Optativ sehe ich keine Möglichkeit zu einem anderen Grundbegriff als den des Strebens und Wünschens zu gelangen. Ich kann mich nicht überzeugen, dass Ihre Analyse des Optativs die richtige ist. Sie sagen *adyām* ist zusammengesetzt aus *ad* und der Verbalform *yām*. Diese letztere ist ein Conjunctiv mit secundären Endungen, und also der Optativ gleichsam eine zweite Auflage des Conj. Ich frage: Was giebt Ihnen das Recht, anzunehmen, dass der Conj. mit secundären Endungen, den doch das griechische nicht kennt, in der Ursprache vorhanden war? Dieser Conj. soll dann, wenn ich Sie recht verstehe, den Sinn des Indicativs gehabt haben, was auch schwer glaublich ist, jedenfalls soll er eine *connection with past time* gehabt haben. Ich frage: Warum zeigt dann der Optativ in einfachen unabhängigen Sätzen weder im Sanskrit noch im Griechischen eine *connection with past time*? Die Beispiele die Sie auf Seite 426 anführen kann ich nicht anerkennen. In ihnen bringt der Gesamtsinn der Stelle den Begriff der Vergangenheit hinzu. Wird doch auch der Conj. ähnlich gebraucht, der doch auch nach Ihrer Ansicht nichts mit der Vergangenheit zu thun hat. (vgl. Conj. u. Opt. Seite 67)

Das sind in der Kürze die Hauptgründe, die mich hindern Ihrer Ansicht zuzustimmen. Und da ich eine bessere nicht weiss, so sehe ich mich vorderhand gezwungen, bei meiner Auffassung des Optativs zu bleiben, so sehr ich auch fühle dass sie nur annähernd richtig sein kann, und dass die letzten Räthsel von ihr nicht einmal gestreift werden.

Ich würde mich herzlich freuen, wenn wir uns über diesen wichtigen Punkt, und anderes was damit zusammenhängt, austauschen könnten. Vielleicht gelingt es uns doch, einander näher zu kommen.

Zum Schluss erlauben Sie mir noch einen Punkt von allgemeinerem Interesse zu berühren. Die amerikanischen Arbeiten kommen uns Deutschen nur zufällig einmal in die Hände. Es läge doch gewiss im beiderseitigen Vortheil, dies Verhältniss zu ändern. Ich schlage Ihnen vor, an den bei Ihnen erscheinenden Journalen jedes Heft, das für uns Interesse haben könnte, an das Literarische Centralblatt in Leipzig zu schicken, das dann entweder eine Anzeige oder eine Inhaltsangabe veranlasst. Ausserdem wäre eine Uebersicht über das in Amerika auf dem Gebiete des Sanskrit oder der Sprachvergleichung überhaupt geleistete sehr willkommen. Sie könnte bei Kuhn oder in der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft erscheinen.

Ich glaube Sie würden sich ein grosses Verdienst erwerben, wenn Sie auf diese Fragen die Aufmerksamkeit Ihrer Fachgenossen lenken möchten. Sollte ich im Stande sein, Ihnen in irgend einer Weise nützlich zu sein, durch Anzeigen oder Vermittelung von solchen, so würde es mit dem grössten Vergnügen geschehen.

Ihr ergebenster

B DELBRÜCK

Mr. Greenough's review, it should be noticed, was the first important critique which the *Conjunctiv und Optativ* received, and there can be no doubt that Delbrück's admission (in 1879)¹ that the original idea of both the Subjunctive and the Optative might after all be that of *futurity* rather than *will* was prompted by Mr. Greenough's arguments.

So much space has been given to the *Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive*, not merely because of its historical importance and the influence which it has indirectly exercised, through the *Grammar*, on all subsequent study of syntax, but also because its appearance indicates plainly the direction in which Mr. Greenough's mind was working and serves as a kind of index to his subsequent career. He never divorced scholarship, however esoteric, from the every-day business of the class room, and the presence of this ardent scholar, devoted to a kind of investigation in which he stood alone at the University, was soon felt in many ways. In 1872 he offered courses in Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, never before taught at Harvard. This instruction he continued to give, along with his work as a teacher of Latin, until he was

¹ See *Die Grundlagen der Griechischen Syntax*, Halle, 1879, pp. 115-17.

relieved by the appointment of a Professor of Sanskrit in 1880. The service that he did to the University in calling attention to these studies, and in fostering them till time was ripe for establishing them permanently, is easily overlooked in the greater service which he rendered in his own department, but the historian of American learning will not fail to appreciate it.

Two paths were now open to the investigator. He could write *ad clerum*, devoting himself to the composition of learned monographs, or he could embody in text-books the main results of his studies and discoveries,—for with Mr. Greenough, to study was always to discover something. He chose the latter path,—not deliberately, perhaps, but partly by accident, partly from his fondness for teaching, that is, for the direct communication of his ideas to receptive minds. The outcome of this choice was the succession of text-books widely known as Allen and Greenough's Latin Series, which include the *Grammar* previously referred to and editions of the authors commonly read at school. The preparation and progressive revision of this series occupied a large part of his leisure for the rest of his life. The association of the present writer with Mr. Greenough in revising some of these books makes it improper for him to characterize them. Their influence on the teaching of Latin, however, is matter of common knowledge, and it is also well known with what prodigality of intellect Mr. Greenough put into his text-books, in the form of notes, comments, and *obiter dicta*, the ripest fruits of his scholarship and the most brilliant of his discoveries, seldom taking the trouble to designate them as anything new. It is not difficult for the well-informed reader to go through the *Latin Grammar*, for instance, and pick out sentence after sentence to show that the author was in possession of numerous facts and theories, any one of which might have served him as the text for a valuable monograph. Besides his editions of Caesar, Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and Sallust, Mr. Greenough published the Satires and Epistles of Horace (1887), Livy, Books I and II (1891), and, in collaboration with Professor Peck, Livy, Books XXI and XXII (1893).

Mr. Greenough was always intensely interested in etymology, and he had a rare faculty for divining the origin of words and tracing the growth of their meanings. It was impossible for him to operate in a mechanical way in these speculations. He instinctively considered the

word, in each case, not only in its form and its recorded significations, but particularly in its relations to the kind of person who used it, or would have been likely to use it, and to the circumstances under which it must have developed its several meanings. Here his historical imagination and his profound and sympathetic knowledge of human nature stood him in good stead. Whenever he applied himself to an etymological problem, there occurred to his memory some out-of-the-way fact or apparently trivial experience, some chance phrase or anecdote or bit of folklore, which suggested a new point of view and sometimes settled the question instantly. Few of his etymological speculations got into print, but the learning and ingenuity which characterized them, and the uncommon vivacity of intellect which they always exhibited, may be judged by his notes on these matters in several volumes of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. He projected an extensive work in the field of Latin etymology, but this was not even begun at the time of his death. The elaborate Vocabularies which accompany his school editions of the classics, however, contain many suggestions of what he might have accomplished in this department of learning. In these, as in his syntactical investigations, he showed complete independence of judgment. He welcomed evidence, from whatever quarter it came, but he had none of that slavish deference for mere authority with which modern scholars are often, and sometimes justly, reproached. His training had not been such as to make him a member of any school. He acknowledged no philological orthodoxy but that of common sense and acquaintance with the facts. Of his power and originality in the analysis of linguistic forms an idea may be had from his essay on *Some Questions in Latin Stem Formation*, in the tenth volume of the *Harvard Studies*.

Throughout his life Mr. Greenough was an active and enthusiastic teacher. His services in this capacity were too varied to admit of specification; but one important change in American classical instruction which may be definitely traced to him must not pass unnoticed, — the introduction of “reading at sight.” He was the first person to employ this test in the examinations for admission to Harvard College,¹ and he spared no pains to inculcate his method. His views have been often misunderstood and his principles misapplied, but there can be no

¹ In the Latin Grammar paper of 1871. Cf. his *Latin Method*, 1875.

doubt that his efforts availed much to freshen and vivify instruction in the classics. To him, extempore translation was not a headlong course of haphazard guessing, in neglect or defiance of forms and syntax and common sense; it was a stern but gracious discipline, requiring accurate grammatical knowledge and unflagging vigilance. Only those who have heard him set forth and exemplify his method — particularly in connection with his later views as to the order of emphasis in the sentence — can appreciate how original, how sound, and how humane a process he contemplated under the name of “reading at sight.”

Mr. Greenough was equally concerned for the education of undergraduates and for the development of that advanced training which it is the purpose of the Graduate School to provide. He was one of the pioneers in this latter field in America, and his interest was felt in all directions. He gave much advanced instruction himself, and was always accessible, in public and private, to the inquiries of any student engaged in a piece of investigation.

The establishment of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* in 1889 was due to Mr. Greenough. The necessary endowment was contributed, under his influence, entirely by his own Class. He became one of the editors, and some of the best articles in the series are from his pen. Thirteen volumes of the *Studies* attest the success of his efforts towards the publication of what he jocosely called “useless learning.”

In April, 1894, the *Phormio* of Terence, in the original, was acted by students in Sanders Theatre under the auspices of the Classical Department. Mr. Greenough was untiring in his efforts to ensure the success of this production, and the University was largely indebted to him for the highly creditable character of the performance.

In the establishment and organization of the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women,—now Radcliffe College,—Mr. Greenough took a leading part. He was the first of the College Faculty to feel an interest in the matter, and by personal interviews he secured the coöperation of his colleagues and of others, and thus gave practical shape to the enterprise. He was the first chairman of the Academic Board, and he continued to be active in the management of the institution until the last year of his life.

Mr. Greenough wrote verses, both English and Latin, with singular facility and grace, and he had a delightful fund of humor. His lighter

compositions were intended for his friends, — and for them alone ; but some of them got into print. Among these were *The Queen of Hearts* and *The Blackbirds*, — clever and amusing little plays, intended for private performance, — and the operetta of *Old King Cole*, the music for which was written by Professor F. D. Allen. A fine example of his more serious verse is the Latin tribute to Professor Child prefixed to the Child Memorial Volume of the *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (1897). His Hymn for Commencement was first sung at the Commencement dinner in 1881, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the graduation of his Class. The letter of the Classical Department on the retirement of Professor Lane, printed in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for 1893-94, may stand as a specimen of his mastery of Latin prose.

In June, 1900, Mr. Greenough suffered a slight cerebral hemorrhage, which prostrated him for a time. He soon rallied, however, and, though he was unable to meet his classes, the ensuing autumn found his health so far restored that he could take part in the composition of a book on English etymology and kindred topics which he had planned to prepare in collaboration with the present writer. This book, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, occupied his thoughts in the most agreeable manner throughout the winter and a part of the following spring. His wide learning, admirable memory, and intellectual keenness and suggestiveness were not at all affected, and, though he was unable, from physical weakness, to work long at a time, his mind was constantly busy with the book, and he recurred unweariedly to the composition of it. He was even able, despite increasing weakness, to read the proofs in the spring and early summer. This was his last literary work. He had other projects in view, but his strength failed him. A fatal disease of the heart made rapid progress, and on the eleventh of October, 1901, he died at his home in Cambridge.

Mr. Greenough had a rare capacity for friendship, and few men have had so many friends. He was the most entertaining of companions, and the warmth and openness of his nature attached to him those whom the charm of his intense and vivacious personality attracted. Intellectually he had that indefinable touch which we call genius. His mind was at once discursive and logical. He jumped from point to point, from subject to subject, with an agility that often left the hearer breath-

less in the attempt to follow him. Yet he could always supply — to order — the logical stages through which his thought had passed. His discursiveness (of which he was quite aware) was in fact one of his strongest points, for it was controlled by a combination of logical keenness and historical imagination which are seldom found united. The rapidity of his mental processes was prodigious, — but not more remarkable than the slow, minute patience with which he analyzed an idea or a construction. His intellectual curiosity was insatiable, and he communicated some part of his enthusiasm to all who came under his influence. He held strong opinions, — he was accustomed to say that “nothing steadies a man like a few good sound prejudices,” — but he was ever ready to revise his views. Indeed, he had an almost consistent habit of disregarding his general theories when these seemed likely to work injustice to any particular person. Generous recognition of merit in others was one of his most marked characteristics.

Physically strong and active, Mr. Greenough was fond of out-of-door life. He delighted in the woods and mountains, and spent much of his time in camp on the Canadian seigniory which belonged to him and his elder brother. Vigor and energy were essential qualities of his nature. It seemed impossible that he should ever grow old.

Mr. Greenough was married on November 26, 1860, to Mary Battey Ketchum, who died July 19, 1893. On December 21, 1895, he was married to Harriet Sweetser Jenks. His children are James Jay Greenough, born September 18, 1861, and Robert Battey Greenough, born November 9, 1871.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOURTH ECLOGUE OF VIRGIL

BY W. WARDE FOWLER

IT is now some years since Mr. Mackail warned us, in his admirable and suggestive volume on Latin literature,¹ that there is no great mystery in the fourth Eclogue, and that it is in reality only a poem of nature. "The enchanted light which lingers over it is hardly distinguishable from that which saturates the *Georgics*. . . . It is not so much a vision of a golden age as Nature herself seen through a medium of strange gold." We have been led astray, he tells us, by ancient misconceptions of its ideas and imagery; the Sibylline verses which suggested these "were really but the accidental grain of dust round which the crystallisation of the poem began."

This is not so much the judgement of a student as of a scholar and a man of letters; it is the carefully expressed opinion of one who has the true Virgilian feeling, and who knows the poet through and through, as his translations of all the poems of Virgil amply testify. Even if we call it one-sided or paradoxical, it is at least wholesome for the student; for the training of the modern "philolog" is not apt to produce that feeling for a poet's mind without which after all the best criticism of poetry is unattainable.

More than a warning however it cannot be, in spite of the truth contained in it. There are some literary works about which the *dura cupido* of scholars will always continue to exercise itself, and this little poem is one of them; and as it happens fortunately that its poetry is not of the very highest order, and that the speculations it suggests are so various as to lead the student into many by-paths of ancient life and literature, we may assume that Virgil has here suffered no great hurt from his commentators, while they have gained something by their labours. There is certainly no sign that they are giving up those labours as useless. In the voluminous study of the Eclogues published in 1897 by M. Cartault, Professor of Latin Poetry at Paris, may be found some

¹ *Latin Literature* (1895), p. 94.

account of a vast number of discussions which have appeared on the subject during the last thirty or forty years, in France, Germany, Italy, England, and America.¹ Since the publication of his book yet more have been added to the number; and two of these are among the most interesting I have seen. A paper by Professor W. M. Ramsay on "the meeting of Horace and Virgil," containing some most instructive remarks on our poem, was published in 1898 in the *Proceedings of the Franco-Scottish Society*, and only came into my hands through the kindness of its writer. Since then again, in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (November, 1900), the distinguished French savant, M. Salomon Reinach, has written an essay of very curious interest, suggesting an entirely new interpretation of the Eclogue. And now I, too, am under the impression, or delusion, that I have something worth saying in the debate. "Insano iuvat indulgere labori."

It is not my purpose, however, to discuss the poem in detail; I propose to deal chiefly with the last four lines of it, and with their bearing, as I understand it, on the rest of the poem. I shall also hope to show how they may serve as a useful touchstone to distinguish false criticism from true, and how some good critics have been misled by failing to give them their due weight. Among these I am compelled to reckon both Professor Ramsay and M. Reinach; and as it is not likely that many scholars have become acquainted with the contributions of either of these, owing to the character of the periodicals in which they were published, and as there is indeed something to be learnt from each of them, I will start with a brief account and criticism of their suggestions. It may be as well, however, just to remind the reader that there are three main questions arising out of a study of the poem, apart from certain obscurities of detail: these are, 1. What was Virgil's purpose in writing it, and in connecting it, as he clearly did, with the consulship of Pollio in 40 B.C.? 2. Who or what was the child whose birth it celebrates and whose fortunes it foretells? 3. Whence did Virgil draw the very peculiar ideas and imagery of the poem? These questions have been variously answered ever since the age of the earliest Roman commentators: but I suppose that the views most generally held both in ancient and modern times have been, (1) that the poet

¹ *Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile*, pp. 210 ff.

sought to celebrate the consulship of Pollio, and the peace of Brundisium, by describing a golden age now again to appear on earth in the course of a cycle of ages, under the united auspices of Octavianus and Antonius : (2) that the child who was to see, inaugurate, and typify the new age, was a real infant, born or expected in 40 B.C., and probably a son of Pollio himself : (3) that the poet drew his ideas and imagery from Sibylline verses now lost, from Hesiod, from Orphic poets, possibly even from Hebrew prophets, and to some extent from his Roman predecessors. Let us go on at once to compare these familiar explanations with the views of Professor Ramsay and M. Reinach.

Professor Ramsay was led to his conclusions in the course of working out the subject of his paper, — the intercourse of Horace and Virgil. Assuming that the sixteenth Epode of Horace was published separately, or rather, as we may perhaps say, was known to literary circles, before the book of Epodes as a whole, and probably at the time of the Perusian war in 41 B.C., he explains its obvious likeness to the fourth Eclogue by supposing that the latter was in some sense an answer to it. Horace, in despair at the new outbreak of civil war, had fancifully suggested that the Italian race should migrate like the Phocæan of old to the far west, where, as Sertorius had been told in Spain, lay the islands of the blest. Virgil answers him thus (I quote Professor Ramsay's words) : "Seek not the better age in a fabled island of the west. It is here and now with us. The child already born in Italy will inaugurate it and live in it. The period upon which Italy is now entering more than fulfils in real life the dream of a Golden Age perpetuated in a distant or fabulous island. The marvels which are told of that island are being realised now in Italy under the new order, through the influence of peace and prudence and organisation. The new Roman generation will in this way destroy every noxious plant and animal, and will make the land sufficient for its own people by the good agriculture that grows all products in abundance ; it will improve the natural products, and make the thorn-tree laugh and blossom with flowers.¹ By naturalising the

¹ Professor Ramsay has not noticed that Virgil recurs to these ideas and treats them as actually realised in Italy, in *Georg.* 2, 151 :

At rabidae tigres absunt et saeva leonum
Semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentes, etc.

best that grows in foreign lands, it will render Italy independent of imports, and put an end to the too daring art of navigation. The Eclogue was, like Locksley Hall, 'a vision of the world and all the wonders that should be,' after the new empire of Rome should have had time to show men what science and government, working in unison, could do for Italy."

Thus there was no need to ask who the fortunate child was that should see and inaugurate such bliss. "In the vision of the coming age the scenery is Italian, and the new-born child is the representative of the new Roman generation." On this point Professor Ramsay expresses himself dogmatically: "it is a total misconception of Virgil's intention, to look for any reference to an actual human child. . . . The child of whom Virgil sings is the representative of the new Rome, bearer of its majesty and power, favoured of the gods, shielded by them from all evil, guided by them to greatness and empire." And following the phases of the prophetic poem, he shows that though this child must be educated to war,¹ yet the arts of peace are his real inheritance: and that in aiming at the *honores* which are the summit of a Roman's ambition, he is but fulfilling his mission, — the mission of giving lasting happiness to the world.

These sentences are so full both of historical and poetical feeling that I am almost tempted to adopt them as a whole; and indeed if I could understand them to mean that Virgil was taking some individual child unknown to us to represent the coming Italian generation and its happiness, I should do so without scruple. But Professor Ramsay most explicitly forbids me so to understand him (p. 11). To him the child is an abstraction, an idealised generation now beginning. This idea is not indeed wholly new; it was long ago suggested by Heyne, whose explanation is adopted by Merivale in his account of the events of this year.² But as I understand Heyne, he did not altogether exclude the idea of the birth of an individual child: he rather thought that the first

¹ Professor Ramsay sees in the puzzling lines 34-36 (*Alter erit tum Tiphys*, etc.) an allusion to the Parthian expedition upon which Antony was about to set out; and this seems to me also the simplest and most natural explanation of them, seeing that the defeat of Parthia might well seem, at the moment of the peace of Brundisium, the only thing wanting to the peace of the world and the hopes of Italy.

² Ed. Heyne-Wagner, I, 128. Merivale, *Hist.* vol. III, p. 246.

and representative child of the new era, though unknown both to Virgil and to us, was yet some real infant of flesh and blood: *deflexit itaque orationem in puerum illum, qui primus in saeculi huius auspiciis est nasciturus*. If so, he had, I think, entered even more fully than Professor Ramsay into the spirit of the poem: *he had taken account of its last lines*, of which Professor Ramsay makes no mention at all. We may accept in full the view that the hope in Virgil's mind was a regenerate and well-tilled Italy; that Italy was foremost in his mind here as ever there can be no doubt: but we must add the conviction that no mere abstraction can be the object of such lines as these:

Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem:
Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses:
Incipe, parve puer: qui non risere parenti
Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

We may read through the poem up to this point and find nothing seriously out of harmony with Professor Ramsay's interpretation, — unless indeed it be the preference for the tangible and the concrete which was natural to the Roman and to Virgil himself, — but when we come to this curiously realistic termination we are suddenly brought up, and forced either to reconstruct our idea of the child, or to let these lines drop out of sight altogether. Professor Ramsay has adopted the latter alternative.¹

I now turn to a very different and far more eccentric explanation; one which is extremely interesting and incidentally useful, but hardly, I think, the work of a man of strong poetic feeling or thorough knowledge

¹ Professor Ramsay has another interesting suggestion, which lies rather outside the range of this paper and shall be mentioned only in a foot-note. He thinks that Virgil may have read a translation of Isaiah, as many others have fancied before him: but he adds that he sees in the peculiar versification of the poem a characteristic of Hebrew poetry. In a number of cases, he says, the second half of the line repeats with slight variation the meaning of the first half. *Cara deum soboles, magnum Iovis incrementum* would, I suppose, be an example of this. The suggestion is interesting, but will, I imagine, appear fanciful to most scholars. To me the metrical peculiarities of the Eclogue always suggest a first attempt to write "in the grand style," and not a very successful one. When our poet next touched the same theme (in *Georg.* 2, 475, *Me vero primum*, etc.) he started in exactly the same style, but shook himself free of it as he went on.

of Virgil. M. Reinach¹ emphatically denies that the poem contains any kind of historical allusion, or stands in any sort of relation to the events of Virgil's age. "Je me propose," he writes,² "d'établir qu'il n'y a pas d'allusions historiques ou politiques dans la IV Eglogue, qu'il n'y est question ni du fils de Pollion, ni du fils d'aucun autre personnage du temps, enfin que la caractère du poème tout entier est exclusivement religieux ou mystique." He adds, with some force, that if Virgil had not addressed the poem to Pollio, and placed the birth of the child in Pollio's consulship, no one would have dreamt that its subject was the birth of the consul's son. Certainly: but in the first place, we are not compelled to believe the child to have been a son of Pollio: in the second, why did Virgil put the birth so manifestly in this year, 40 B.C.? M. Reinach does indeed answer this last question, but vaguely and feebly: "without doubt it was on the authority of a current prophecy or of a mystical calculation of which we know nothing." The idea of a historical allusion is in his view simply the creation of foolish scholiasts, and only proves the ignorance of the ancient grammarians, "qui forgoient à plaisir, pour expliquer les textes, des explications tirées de ces textes eux-mêmes" (p. 373). Here he seems to approach the point of view of Mr. Mackail; both look on the poem as deeply overlaid with rubbish by the perversity of human learning. But the difference between them is this: Mr. Mackail clears the rubbish away, and asks us to look at a beautiful original without asking questions about it, while M. Reinach, though equally at pains to get rid of the old deposits, proceeds,—if I may venture so to express it,—to provide us with a fresh supply from a new and unexpected source.

I doubt if he would have been led to this source if he had not happened on an idea dropped by the German mythologist, O. Gruppe,³ and abandoned by him. M. Reinach picked up this idea, was greatly

¹ *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, vol. XLII, p. 365 ff.

² *Ibid.* p. 372.

³ *Griechische Kulte und Mythen*, I, 637 ff.; a passage of value for the student of the Jewish Sibylline oracles and their relation to the literature of the last century B.C. In comparing Sibyll. III, 787 ff. and Isaiah xi, 6, he notes the essential difference between the idea inherent in both of these and the language of our poem, 18-30. On these Sibyllines see also Schürer's *Jewish People in the time of Christ*, Div. ii, vol. III, p. 271 ff. (Eng. trans.).

attracted by it, and has most ingeniously worked it out. First, he observes that the infant of the poem is *the son of Jupiter*. But is this really so? Can *magnum Iovis incrementum* (line 49) bear this meaning? *Incrementum* is a rare and rather vague word, and seems chosen, in careful keeping with the general tenor of the poem, to express some less direct relation than actual sonship. When not so many years afterwards Ovid used the word in his *Metamorphoses* (3, 103), he could hardly have failed to remember Virgil's famous use of it: yet he has given it quite a different meaning from that claimed by M. Reinach. In the line *Vipereos dentes, populi incrementa futuri*, it is used to express the *active* power of the dragon's teeth to produce a human crop; and so in our poem it has generally been taken to mean that the child will actively carry out in his life the work of Jupiter.¹

But having settled it that the child is the son of Jupiter, M. Reinach goes happily on his way. This son of Jupiter is to rule a world restored to peace by his father's virtues: *pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem* (line 17). Now it was Jupiter who restored the universe to peace when he conquered the Titans: and thus, though *orbis* does not usually mean the universe,² and though most Virgilian scholars will take *patriis virtutibus* with *reget* rather than with *pacatum*, what Virgil means is that the cycle of events will recur, and that a new son of Jupiter is to arise,—a new divine dynasty. This idea, M. Reinach tells us, Virgil found in the Orphic poetry and mysteries. This must be so (so he appears to me to argue), because he certainly found another idea there, which is also prominent in the poem,—viz., that of original sin and its purgation: *Si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri, Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras* (lines 13–14). “Les hommes descendaient des Titans, qui avaient tué et dépecé le jeune Dionysus Zagreus; ils portaient le poids de ce crime et ne pouvaient s'en affran-

¹ See Conington and Nettleship on the passage. Heyne explained it as *alumnus et nutricius*, θρέμμα Διὸς, διωτρεφής. M. Cartault (*op. cit.* p. 224, note), though without quoting Ovid's line, has arrived at the right meaning: “Jupiter sera grandi par la naissance d'un tel enfant.”

² *Orbis*, as M. Reinach says (p. 373, note), may now and again be used for *mundus* (e.g. Ov. *Fasti*, 1, 85): but I cannot for a moment believe that it can have that meaning here. To me the connexion of Pollio's consulship with the government of the universe seems simply grotesque.

chir que par l'initiation aux mystères."¹ As in this initiation the worshipper partook of the nature of the god,—became in fact a young Dionysus, so Virgil prophecies a divine nature for his infant,—*Ille Deum vitam accipiet* (line 15). Such verses are cast in the language of Orphic initiation, says M. Reinach,² and find their exact analogy in that of the Paetelian tablet and others from Sybaris, surviving from the Orphic rites of Magna Graecia.³ It would have been well, I think, if he had stopped here, and contented himself with pointing out a possible and as yet unnoticed source of the peculiar language of the poem.

But we are thus only prepared for a startling conclusion as to the character and identity of the marvellous child. It is a new Dionysus whose approach the poet announces. "Dionysus has suffered, died, risen again, but these events belong to a cycle which is expiring; the coming age of gold is to witness the new epiphany of Dionysus, as the new beginning of all things." This is the secret which it has taken nearly two thousand years to discover. The child is Dionysus, son of Jupiter: the language and ideas are Orphic, with a large infusion of Hebraism from Jewish Sibylline verses: and the still youthful Virgil has chosen to introduce a mystic and mythological poem among his simple Theocritean Eclogues. Well indeed might he herald it with the high-sounding line *Sicelides Musae, paullo maiora canamus!*

It does not indeed seem to me impossible that Virgil, whose tendency to mysticism and Pythagoreanism are sufficiently attested by the sixth Aeneid, who must have been familiar with the writings of his elder contemporary, Nigidius Figulus (of whom I may have a word to say later on), and who had probably already spent some time at Tarentum,⁴ may have been acquainted with the language of the mysteries of Magna Graecia, and used it for his own purposes. So much, I think, we may say that we have gained by M. Reinach's interesting essay. But for a sense of sin we need not go so far; it was in the air when the poem

¹ p. 375.

² p. 375 ff.

³ *C. I. Graec.-Ital.* 638 (from Paetelia in S. Italy: in the British Museum): καὶ τὸν ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι μεθ' ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[s: cp. *divisque videbit Permictos heroas et ipse videbitur illis* (line 16). So too 641 (from Thurii): θεὸς δ' ἔσθι ἀντὶ βοροῦο reminds us of *Ille deum vitam accipiet*. On these tablets see the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. III, 111 ff. (Comparetti).

⁴ Nettleship, *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, p. 49; cp. *Georg.* 4, 125.

was written. From the death of Julius to the complete settlement of Augustus' power, we find it continually recurring. Virgil himself, Sallust, Livy, and Horace, all express it in one way or another: the failure of the national *pietas* lay heavily on the Roman mind, and it was the great merit of Augustus as a ruler that he came fully to understand this, and sought by every means in his power to lighten the burden. I do not see that the *prisca fraus* and *sceleris vestigia nostri* need any more recondite explanation than that which has always been given them, — the wickedness of the civil wars, the *Mars impius* of the first Georgic,¹ the individual selfishness in high places which our poet afterwards portrayed both in his Turnus and his Dido, the moral and physical ruin of the Italy which he loved so well. If, following the best canon of all poetical criticism, we interpret Virgil by himself, there is, I am convinced, but one conclusion to be drawn. Italy regenerate after a period of darkness and wickedness, — this is the one great idea that animates the poet's mind throughout, and may be traced onwards from this Eclogue to the last scene of the *Aeneid*.

But there is another objection to M. Reinach's theory, and as I think, a fatal one. If the child were Dionysus, could a poet of Virgil's taste and feeling have reverted, at the end of a purely mystical and religious poem, to such unguarded realism as we find in the last four lines? One may well ask, if the infant is Dionysus and the father Jupiter, who is the mother whom the child is to recognise by smiling on her? M. Reinach confesses that he cannot discover her. She cannot be Semele: "she can never have possessed, in the eyes of the poet, a precise mythological character, for she only appears in the last four lines and in terms which would suit any mother. It is best to admit that Virgil, discarding the horrible history of the incest of Zeus with Persephone, has adopted a tradition, perhaps neo-orphic in origin, which made some nymph or other (*une nymphe quelconque*) the mother of Dionysus-Zagreus, or one of the numerous mortals loved by the chief of the gods. If we admit this hypothesis, all the details still obscure seem to clear themselves up."² If we could admit it! I should not have quoted these sentences if I had not wished to show how greatly we are in danger, in these days of scientific criticism, of applying wrong methods which can

¹ *Georg.* I, 511; cp. 468.

² *Op. cit.* p. 379.

only lead to absurd results. You cannot safely deal with a poet like Virgil as if he were a historian or a mythologist.¹

Once more then these last four lines, applied as a touchstone to the interpretation of the poem as a whole, put us instantly on our guard, and save us from extravagances. They seem to bring us back to Virgil, to Italy, and to common sense; and no one has a right to deal with the Eclogue who will not give them their due place in it. But they present more than one serious difficulty, and I must now proceed to examine them in detail.

First, let us notice that there is here (after line 59) clearly a pause in the sense, and a change of mood; and these lines should in my opinion be always printed with a space between them and those which precede them, so as to indicate this pause and change; or at any rate they should begin, so to speak, a new paragraph, like the last eight lines of Milton's *Lycidas*. In the language of music, the resounding tones of the full organ here come to a close, and the movement ends *piano*, in a gentle and homely cadence: we are again in touch with the homely Italian life. The effect of this pause and change can best be appreciated if, after reading the poem once, we let the mind dwell on these last lines, and then turn back to the beginning and go over it once more. Then, to me at least, it becomes clear that the bulk of the poem is a prophetic *carmen* conceived as sung by a *vates fatidica*, with whom Virgil half identifies himself, *during the actual birth of a child*; and that when the *carmen* comes to an end, the birth has actually taken place, and the *vates* turns to the new-born infant, and dropping the character of prophet, speaks to it in the language and in the tender tones of an Italian nurse.² A minute ago she was praying Lucina to be gracious at

¹ M. Cartault (*op. cit.* p. 234) quotes from a paper in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1877, by Th. Plüss, another writer who laid stress on the Bacchic elements in the poem, a still more absurd conclusion: "Es fragt sich noch, wer war die Mutter? Ich denke, wenn der Vater Liber ist, ist die Mutter Libera." But M. Cartault seems to have no sense of humour, — another requisite, if I may venture to say so, of good criticism, — and does not betray a smile.

² M. Cartault (p. 225 ff.) troubles himself a good deal with the question whether at the moment of the poem the child was already born or about to be born: and affirms that "on ne peut guère admettre que la composition de la IV Eglogue concide justement avec la naissance de l'enfant." I really think that the Professor should have devoted himself to prose and not poetry.

the birth,—*Tu modo nascenti puero . . . casta fave Lucina*: and then again, as the fateful moment approaches, she cries *Aggredere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores*: now the child lies before her, and the sight brings her back to the human and the present. It seems to me that the poem gains immensely in truth and beauty, showing us the true Virgilian tenderness and pity, if we look at it in this clear and undistorted light.

I have said that the *vates* now uses the language of the Italian nurse. No one has seen this so clearly, I think, as Mr. R. C. Seaton, in a short paper contributed to the *Classical Review* in 1893 (p. 199): and he has also come near to reaching what I believe to be the true meaning of the last line of all, which has baffled the commentators ever since it was written. But I shall be saving space if for the present I only make reference to this sensible little paper, and quote the lines once more, as they stand in the new Oxford text of Virgil edited by Mr. F. A. Hirzel:

Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem :
Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses :
Incipe, parve puer : qui non risere parenti
Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

Here there are two difficulties: first, the old controversy, known to every Virgilian scholar, whether the smile is that of the mother which the child recognises, or that of the child, by which it owns its love for the mother. If it is the mother's smile, then we must read with the MSS., Servius, and Nonius, in the third line, *cui non risere parentes*, in order to make the third line answer intelligibly to the first: if, on the other hand, it is the child's smile, then we can safely go back upon the earliest reading which we possess, that quoted by Quintilian,¹ *qui non risere parentes*, or as it has been corrected by editors, "*qui non risere parenti*." For my own part I unhesitatingly adopt the second alternative; for not only is the picture more natural if the smile is the child's,²

¹ 9, 3, 8. Halm, in his critical note, suggests that Quintilian's copy may have been a "*vitiosum exemplar*." But surely we may trust Quintilian to have been careful in such matters.

² I do not know that anyone has quoted in this context the following passage from Suetonius' *Life of Virgil* (ch. 4): "*Ferunt infantem (i. e. Virgil) ut sit editus neque vagisse et adeo miti vultu fuisse ut haud dubiam spem prosperioris geniturae (i. e. horoscope) iam tum daret.*"

but to my mind it is impossible that Virgil should not have been thinking of the exquisite passage of Catullus¹ to which all editors refer or should refer us :

Torquatus, volo, parvulus
Matris e gremio suae
Porrigenis teneras manus
Dulce rideat ad patrem
Semihiente labello.

I believe that Quintilian correctly copied his ms., which had *qui non risere parentes*, and that the *qui* became *cui* in later copies through a misunderstanding of the sense and the grammar, from which Quintilian, who makes it perfectly clear that he understood the plural *qui* to be followed grammatically by the singular *hunc* in the next line,² was saved by his good taste and poetical feeling. Further, I believe that Virgil really wrote "*qui non risere parentes*" — not *parenti*, — and I take *parentes* as the object of *risere*, understanding it as somewhat colloquial Latin, as in Plautus, *Captivi* (3, 1, 21),³ and thus suited to the simple and unconventional tone of the lines. It was not till long after I had formed this opinion, which has not found favour among my friends, that I had the pleasure of discovering that it was the opinion, very clearly expressed, of J. J. Scaliger himself: who in commenting on Catullus' *dulce rideat ad patrem* quotes this passage and adds,⁴ "*Virgilius sine praepositione — qui non risere parentes. Manifesto enim hortatur puerum ut ad matrem rideat, non contra, ut illi parentes. . . . Nam 'risere parentes' pro 'ad parentes' dictum; ut Catullus loquitur.*" The note is a remarkable one, and I shall refer to it again directly; at present it will be sufficient to show that the oldest reading of the passage which we possess may, in the opinion of the greatest of scholars, stand just as it is. But this is by the way; I am here chiefly concerned

¹ Catull. 61, 216 ff.

² "Ex illis enim 'qui non risere,' hic, quem non dignata." I cannot follow Dr. Postgate in his account of these words (*Class. Rev.* Feb. 1902), nor in his suggestion of *hinc* for *hunc*. Quintilian had just written *Est figura et in numero, vel cum singulari pluralis subjungitur*. But Dr. Postgate contends that Quintilian's copy of Virgil was a bad one.

³ Ed. Lindsay, p. 237.

⁴ *Castigationes in Catullum*, etc., 1577.

with the sense, which is the same whether we read *parentes* or *parenti*; I merely desired to point out that if Virgil really wrote *parentes* it is much easier to explain the subsequent corruption (as I take it to be) into "*cui non risere parentes*," and the resulting false notion that the smile was the mother's and not the child's. As regards the sense, no doubt it is harshly expressed: *ridere* with the accusative meaning to smile on, and *qui* followed by *hunc*, are between them quite enough to frighten timid scholars: but where Quintilian and Scaliger did not hesitate to go, we need hardly fear to follow.

But there is a still more serious difficulty in the last line of all, *Nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est*. It is wonderful how far afield interpreters have gone for explanations of these words. It has been thought that Virgil is here alluding to a passage in the eleventh Odyssey,¹ where Herakles is described as having joy at the banquet (*mensa*) among the deathless gods, and having to wife Hebe of the fair ancles (*cubile*). As Mr. Seaton truly says, this explains nothing at all. Servius has more than one pompous explanation from Greek mythology, quite out of keeping with the true Virgilian tone of the passage: e. g. Hephaestus, being born lame, was not smiled on by his mother Hera, and had in consequence to put up with various misfortunes and disabilities. But recently Mr. Seaton has suggested very happily that it was perhaps "no more than a highflown way of expressing an old nurse's saw that a dull infant comes to a bad end"; and I am disposed to think that he was not very far from the truth.

It is in the Danielian additions to Servius' commentary² (if indeed they are additions, and not part of Servius' own notes), which have the merit of preserving the memory of many old Italian ideas and customs, that I have found what I believe to be the real clue to this mysterious allusion; it is a passage which I have already had reason to quote in my book on the *Roman Festivals* (p. 143 ff.), but without perceiving its full bearing upon Virgil's line. *Proinde nobilibus pueris editis in atrio domus Iunoni lectus, Herculi mensa ponebatur*.³ I cannot say

¹ *Od.* II, 602.

² Ed. Thilo and Hagen, vol. III, p. 53.

³ Servius, ed. Thilo and Hagen, vol. III, p. 53, note. The words are also found in Philargyrius and the Bernensian scholia, and probably formed part of an ancient gloss, afterwards rejected for the more high-flown explanations to which I have

that I am quite clear as to the exact meaning of these words, e.g. whether the commentator supposed that at the birth of a child *mensa* and *lectus* were spread for the two deities in each case, or whether in the case of a boy's birth Hercules alone had his table, while in the case of a girl's Juno alone had her *lectus* (in which sense it was understood by Scaliger) ; but I have little doubt that in the custom to which he is alluding, both deities were concerned at the birth of every child. For they were the *di coniugales* ; they were the representatives in the old Roman religion of the male and female principles respectively : their combined influence had produced the child. We are now practically certain that the name Hercules became attached, we cannot tell how, to the Roman conception of Genius, and that the corresponding *numen* of women was called by the familiar name Juno. The names themselves are of no great account, as anyone will understand who is conversant with the history of the Roman religion ; the *numina*, the spirits affecting human life, had often no names, or only acquired them in the course of time by strange processes, only too common in a land where both the form and the terminology of religion became a curious concrete of Greek, Etruscan, Sabine, and Latin elements. Now Juno and Hercules are found together both in Italian literature and art in ways that can leave no doubt as to their peculiar relation and character. A full account of these will be found in Roscher's *Mythological Lexicon*, vol. II, pp. 2258 ff. (*s. v.* Hercules), compiled from the oral teaching as well as the writings of Reifferscheid of Breslau, who first discovered and published this curious feature of old Italian religious thought.¹

alluded above. For the value of the Scholia first printed by Daniel in 1600, see Nettleship, *Essays in Latin Literature*, p. 339; Teuffel, *Hist. of Roman Literature*, II, 397.

¹ Since the above was written, I have been astonished to find that in his note on Catullus quoted already, Scaliger, with the habitual acuteness which he added to his learning, had cast to the winds the explanations from Greek mythology and adopted what is practically the one I have given. *Nascentibus putabant adesse, mari Genium, qui est Deus mensae, feminae Junonem, quae est dea cubilis. Qui, inquit, non risere ad parentes, nec Genius illum accipit mensa nec Dea hanc cubili.* But Scaliger did not know the Danielian Servius' comment, or he would have quoted it; nor did he know Hercules = Genius: hence he thinks of Genius apparently only as the *numen* of the festive board.

I hope that scholars will now agree with me that we have in these lines nothing more than an allusion, in the true Virgilian manner, to an old Roman or Italian practice, still at that time preserved in some aristocratic families, though already no doubt bereft of its original significance, and by no means clear to the mind of Virgil himself;¹ an allusion quite in keeping with the picture that the poet brings before us in these tender lines: *The child that will not smile on his mother is not worthy of notice from the deities presiding over his parents' union*, — that is all. And we may now thus paraphrase the whole passage: 'Begin, little one, to recognise thy mother with a smile: she deserves it of thee, for her travail has been long: begin, little one, for babes who do not thus own their mothers' love, cannot expect the favour of her guardian deities.'

The passage thus explained, I can hardly believe that anyone will still contend that the child of the poem was not a real one. How could Virgil have used such language of an abstraction, or of a Greek god Dionysus? How could he have ventured on such an allusion? To my mind at least the lines are too real and tender to be applicable to any child but one definitely expected, and poetically conceived by the poet as born when the carmen comes to a close. The mother was a real mother, the child a real child. The latter is doubtless, as Professor Ramsay says, the representative of a new and better generation; but to be that in Roman eyes he must be, as every Roman scholar afterwards understood him to be, an individual infant of flesh and bone.

After expressing so strong a conviction that the *parvus puer* was a child actually born or expected to be born, I may fairly be called on to express an opinion as to who he was. But I confess that this question does not greatly interest me; more than an opinion it is not possible for anyone to give, nor does it much matter, as far as the poem itself is concerned, whether or no the secret can be discovered. But I wish to draw attention in this connexion to one point which has not, I think, been sufficiently considered.

¹ By Virgil's time, still more in that of Servius, the custom and its meaning may have been imperfectly understood, only surviving in the "nurse's saw," as Mr. Seaton calls it. It is impossible for us to recover them exactly, and unwise to press the words of poet or commentator too closely. But as to the *deus* and *dea* there should be no doubt.

The earliest information we have about the question is contained in a note of Servius, which seems to come directly from the great Roman scholar Asconius, who lived and wrote a generation or two later than Virgil himself. Asconius was told by Asinius Gallus, son of Pollio, that he himself (Gallus) was the *parvus puer* of the Eclogue. *Asconius a Gallo audisse se refert hanc eclogam in honorem eius factam*.¹ Now the value of this information seems to me to consist, not in the statement of Asinius Gallus, which is open to grave suspicion, but in the implied fact that *the identity of the child was not known to Asconius*. Gallus, we may note, was a candidate for the Principate at the end of Augustus' reign, and actually thought of by him as a possible successor, though considered ambitious and unequal to the position.² When Tiberius succeeded, Gallus made himself for many years as unpleasant as he could to that unlucky emperor, whose wife Vipsania he had married after she had been divorced by order of Augustus; and it would suit both his purpose and temper to spread about such a story, especially if no one knew who the child of the poem really was. Clearly Asconius did not know, or Gallus would not have confided the secret to him; and if Asconius did not know, we may be sure that no one else knew, and may well wonder why the family of Pollio had kept the secret so long.

This story of Asconius and Gallus, with the fact that the child was to be born in Pollio's consulship, was in my opinion what gave rise to the tradition, which has more generally found favour than any other, that the child was a son of Pollio. This paper has been occupied with more important matters than the question whether Pollio had one or two sons born at this time, and whether either of them was born in the year of his consulship, and I have not now space to go into these details. But apart from the fact, if we may call it so, that Asconius knew nothing of the identification until Gallus told him of it, I find it impossible to read this Eclogue, and to compare it with the language used of Pollio in the third, and still to accept the conclusion that the marvellous child was

¹ This is also in the Danielian Servius *ad Ecl.* 4, 11, and in the Scholia Bernensia. Thilo and Hagen's Servius, III, 46.

² Tac. *Ann.* 1, 13.

his son.¹ Pollio is in the Eclogues an ordinary human being, as he was to Horace and to everyone else at the time; and neither his consulship nor the part he took in negotiating the peace of Brundisium could make him into anything more. Mr. Sidgwick is hardly correct in claiming that the consul in 40 B.C. still controlled the empire;² the great office had not yet recovered from the eclipse of its glory under Caesar, and it is significant that at the close of this very year Pollio and his colleague had to resign their offices, and that one of their successors for the short remainder of the year was the useful political agent, Cornelius Balbus of Gades, whose very *civitas* had been attacked in a Roman court of law but a few years earlier. I confess that I cannot think of the son even of Pollio the consul as *cara deum soboles, magni Iovis incrementum*. My own feeling, — I will not say conviction, — is that, if Virgil is to be interpreted by his own poems, the evidence *a priori* is overwhelming that the new age and the hopes of Italy could only be personified by him as a member of the family of the Caesars. Pollio, Varus, Gallus are helpful human friends in these early poems, and then disappear; but Augustus is ever in Virgil's mind from the first Eclogue onwards, not merely as a human friend and helper, but as the son of the divine Julius, and as the pacificator and regenerator of the world. Well indeed might the child of such a man — a man himself not far from the gods — be hailed in the lofty language of our poem.³

This strong Virgilian evidence, which led my old teacher and friend, Henry Nettleship, to adopt the view, which does not seem at present to

¹ *Ecl.* 3, 84–88. I may add that personally I can never get over the awkwardness, if not absurdity, of line 11 of our poem (*teque adeo decus hoc ævi, te consule, inibit*), if the child was Pollio's: conceive a poem addressed on the birth of his son to a President of the United States without any allusion to his fatherhood! But for the arguments adduced for the Pollionic hypothesis, see Cartault, pp. 229 ff.

² See the Introduction to his notes on this Eclogue, p. 18.

³ Some excellent remark on Virgil's relation to Julius and Augustus will be found in H. Nettleship's *Ancient Lives of Virgil*, p. 39 ff. But I trust that readers of this paper will refresh their recollection of the following passages of our poet: *Ecl.* 9, 47 ff. (I do not mention the fifth Eclogue, where the identification of Daphnis with Julius is uncertain); *Georg.* 1, 24 ff., 466 ff., esp. line 500; *Georg.* 2, 170 ff.; *Aen.* 1, 257 ff., 6, 788 ff., 8, 678 and 714 ff. The most striking of these is of course the famous one in *Aen.* 6, where Augustus, the golden age, and the regeneration of Italy are all brought together in glowing verse.

be in favour with scholars, that the child was the one which in the year 40 Scribonia, the wife of Octavianus, was expected to bear, inclines me also in the same direction. I think it highly probable that Virgil wrote the poem before the birth, and put it aside when Octavianus was deceived in his hope of a son;¹ that he eventually published it with the other Eclogues, feeling, as a young poet might feel, that it was worthy of him and expressed some of his tenderest hopes for Italy,—nay, that he had spent infinite pains to clothe his feeling in lofty verse, and drawn for his diction on a great variety of sources; and I believe that he intentionally left it wrapped in obscurity and surrounded by appropriate mystery. Its real object was to hail the coming Better Age rather than to salute the expected infant; and it might remain, as it has remained, a bone of contention for expositors. This is my own feeling about the matter; each of us will judge for himself according to his own historical and poetical feeling, and I only give my opinion for what little it may be worth.

I do not propose to discuss in this paper the question as to the sources from which Virgil drew the language and imagery of the poem, or the idea (which is peculiar to it among classical writings) of the association of a new and better age with the birth of a child. I will only remark in conclusion that this is a subject which, small enough in itself, leads inevitably to a wide and various field of reading and research; and that interesting and valuable as such study may be to the student, it is not at all likely to add anything considerable to what we know already. For most unluckily the writings of the one man who may probably have been chiefly responsible both for the ideas and language of the poem, are irretrievably lost to us. If we had before us the works of Nigidius Figulus,² that strange Pythagorean mystic, versed in Orphism, who dabbled in astrology and fortune-telling, and whose writings were well known and widely read at the close of the Republican era and during the years of civil war that followed, we should find, I cannot help thinking, that Virgil, whose poetic forces were gathering strength in those very years, did not go so far afield for his ideas as many scholars have persuaded themselves.

¹ The child actually born (in 39 B.C.) was a girl, the famous or rather infamous Julia, and Scribonia was divorced the same day. Dio Cass. 48, 34.

² See Mommsen, *R. H.* vol. IV, 562.

Let me end as I began, with a reference to Mr. Mackail's remarks. I cannot agree with him that there is no mystery in the poem at all; but I am entirely at one with him in claiming that it should be treated essentially as a poem and not merely as a puzzle, and that it should be interpreted as far as possible by reference to the poet's own life and works. As a poem it should be learnt by heart and meditated on *as a whole*, not merely put upon the dissecting-board as a *corpus vile* for criticism.

THE ILLUSTRATED TERENCE MANUSCRIPTS

BY KARL E. WESTON

OF the manuscripts of Terence in which miniatures occur four are so much superior to the others and bear such unmistakable evidence of coming from a common original that they form a separate class and present a most interesting subject for comparative study.

The four manuscripts are: 1. (C) Vaticanus 3868; 2. (P) Parisinus 7899; 3. (F) Ambrosianus H 75 inf.; 4. (O) Dunelmensis Auct. F 2, 13, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Of the remaining manuscripts one, Vaticanus 3305, is a fragment containing the *Andria* with illustrations partly in color, partly in pen and ink. These illustrations do not continue throughout the manuscript and have no resemblance whatever to those in C, P, F, or O. Two other manuscripts are found in the University Library at Leyden. Of these the Codex Lipsii (XVIII, No. 26 s. X.) contains pen and ink illustrations for the first ten scenes of the *Andria*. In most cases the number of figures represented is less than the number of characters in the scene, and in some cases the name alone of the character occurs without the drawing. The other Leyden manuscript, the Vossianus (Lat. Quarto, No. 26), contains a few colored miniatures. Lastly, the Basilicanus, in the Vatican, contains, as frontispiece, a colored portrait of Terence and spaces for illustrations before the scenes.

These same manuscripts, with the exception of Vaticanus 3305, are mentioned by Thiele in his *De Antiquorum Libris Pictis* (1897). He has, however, only heard of the Dunelmensis through A. Mai in the preface to the *Iliadis Fragmenta Antiquissima cum Picturis item scholia vetera ad Odysseam* (1819). Carl Sittl, in *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (1890), gives the following seven: (1) Vaticanus 3868, (2) Parisinus 7899, (3) Ambrosianus H 75 inf., (4) Lipsiensis XVIII, No. 26 s. X. (containing the first ten scenes of the *Andria*), (5) Lugdunensis, (6) Vaticanus 3305, (7) an English manuscript "ex agro Dunelmensi."

Of the four manuscripts with which this paper deals, (C) the Vaticanus (s. IX) is the most complete. It contains the six comedies of Terence entire and is illustrated throughout with colored miniatures, at the beginning of each scene, representing each actor appearing in that scene in some characteristic or particularly striking attitude illustrating the text. At the beginning of the manuscript a portrait of Terence appears as a frontispiece; while before each comedy are represented the masks used in the play, forming, as it were, a kind of *dramatis personae*, since one familiar with stage traditions regarding masks could readily tell the number of old men, *lenones*, young men, women, and slaves in the play, the characteristics of each being set forth in these grotesque *larvae*.

The *aedícula*, containing the masks, in many cases is elaborate. The side posts are pillars of composite style, the shafts being twisted or fluted, while the capitals are quite ornate, following somewhat the Corinthian order. Resting on these side pillars is an architectural construction, in a general way resembling the pediment of a temple. This is decorated with urns and more or less elaborate architectural designs. Various shades of brown and yellow are used in the coloring of these ornamental frames and the shading of the pillars is carefully worked out to produce the effect of the round.

The *larvae* represented before the Phormio¹ are thirteen in number, corresponding to the number of characters in the comedy (Plate 5). Those representing the two old gentlemen, Demipho and Chremes, the two slaves, Geta and Davus, Phormio, Cratinus, and Dorio, the *leno*, are grotesque in the extreme, with huge mouths, staring eyes, and distorted eyebrows. The two young men, Antipho and Phaedria, the two women, Sophrona and Nausistrata, and two of the *advocati*, Hegio and Crito, are represented with natural faces, in some cases evidently intended to be handsome. Two, which are clearly the slaves, have reddish hair,

¹ The limited time at my disposal in Rome, Milan, Paris, and Oxford made it impossible to copy the illustrations of all six comedies in each of the four mss. Accordingly, it seemed best to choose one comedy as representative of the miniature work in each ms. For this purpose the Phormio was chosen, inasmuch as one set of the illustrations is familiar through the reproduction of the Vatican miniatures in the Phormio published by Harvard in 1894. (The accompanying illustrations are reproduced from water color and pen and ink copies of the original miniatures.)

and two, representing the old men, have light hair, intended doubtless for gray. The other characters have hair of different colors, as yellow, brown, and black.

In the costumes certain characteristics are adhered to throughout the play. The slaves are represented always in a bluish or grayish white tunic with usually a scarf over the shoulder. This scarf is orange color or brown, or sometimes of the same color as the tunic. The other male characters have these same tunics, but the over-garments are of various bright colors; for the young men brownish red or blue; for all the other male characters yellow is used. The women have garments of red and green (Plate 1). The style of painting is rude, but effective; shading is produced by black lines or an overlaid wash of a different color, as, for example, brown on red, red or brown over yellow, and so on. This overlaying of color gives frequently a muddy, thick tone to the work, in many cases producing a clumsy effect which takes away from the action of the drawing. The names of the characters are usually written above the head, sometimes on a level with the face, in rustic capitals of red.

Stage accessories are most primitive, consisting solely of an occasional door, represented by two upright sticks with a cross piece above. From this cross piece a scarf is occasionally hung, doubtless to represent draperies.

(P) The Parisinus, like C, contains the six comedies complete and also, like the latter, is assigned to the latter part of the ninth century or possibly the tenth century. The illustrations are entirely in brown ink, the shading being very heavy, in many cases the ink appearing to have been applied with a brush or pointed stick. The effect is that of a rough pen and ink sketch, hastily done, but strong in its representation of action (Plate 2). Silvestre, in his *Palaeographie Universelle* (Paris, 1841), 2ième Partie, considers this manuscript older than C. He says: "La composition des figures de ce même manuscrit est soignée dans le style, attentive dans l'expression, minutieuse dans tous les détails comme le sont les compositions originales. Dans les dessins du manuscrit du Vatican les figures sont plus largement traitées, les lignes n'y sont pas nombreuses, les draperies à grands traits accusent à peine les mouvements du corps. Le dessinateur du manuscrit de Paris a composé d'après nature; celui du manuscrit de Rome d'après des

statues ou un dessin antérieur." Madame Dacier, on the contrary, remarks (*Les Comédies de Terence*, Paris, 1685, Preface), "Les figures qui sont au commencement de chaque scène ne sont pas fort délicatement dessinées, mais leur geste et leur attitude répondent parfaitement aux passions et aux mouvements que le Poète a voulu donner à ses personnages et je ne doute pas que du temps de Terence les comédiens ne fissent les mêmes gestes qui sont représentés par ces figures." This is an excellent criticism of P. Denis (*Histoire de l'Ornementation des Manuscrits*, Paris, 1858, *Appendice de L'Imitation de Jésus Christ*, part 2, p. 30) speaks of the Paris manuscript as being "peut-être un peu postérieur" to C.

The *aedicula*, containing the masks to the *Phormio* (Plate 6), corresponds to that of C, although it is less carefully drawn and introduces some variations, as, for example, the bird perched on the upper left side. Here, as in all the illustrations, the facial expressions are quite different from C, but the position of each mask and the arrangement of them all is the same. Below the *larvae* is represented something which looks like a flaming torch. This object also occurs in C. Mme. Dacier (Preface to *Les Comédies de Terence*) explains this as representing the "*tibiae impares*," which are mentioned as being used in the presentation of the comedy. She also says that the curious object depicted beside the *tibiae* was doubtless intended for the leathern strap which the player put around his mouth and tied behind his head to aid his performance. These are certainly clever guesses, but the objects are so shapeless that nothing can be positively determined concerning them. The letters used in writing the names of the characters in the illustrations resemble those of C and, like them, are done in red.

(F) The Ambrosianus is catalogued as "ninth century, with sixteenth century restorations." It belongs probably to the tenth century, however. (See Hauler's revised edition of Dziatzko's *Phormio*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 29.) Unfortunately, from the first part of the manuscript all of the *Andria* has been lost as well as the first two acts and the first scene of the third act of the *Eunuchus*; while, at the end, the *Phormio* lacks the last 223 verses. The rest of the comedies are intact and are illustrated throughout. The order of the plays in C, P, F, and O is as follows: *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, *Hautontimorumenos*, *Adelphoe*, *Hecyra*, and *Phormio*. The type of the miniatures is altogether different

from those of C, but slight attempts at color effects being made. The figures are carelessly drawn in brown ink; the shading is produced by heavy brown lines, with frequently a lavender ink, which may have been originally purple, washed in to heighten the effect. Dark blue shading lines with a corresponding wash of lighter blue in the folds of the garments are also frequently employed (Plate 3). In nearly every case the hair is colored blue as well as the few lines beneath the feet representing the ground. The faces are often shaded with the lavender color, while the wide open mouths of the comic masks are colored blue or brown. This blue in its color and the general roughness of its application resembles the work of an ordinary dark blue marking pencil. The *larvae* represented before the Phormio are arranged on two shelves (Plate 7) without any form of decoration and are only eight in number. They are utterly different from those in C and P. In F the names of the characters are written in brown ink, the letters used being a mixture of minuscules and capitals; in some cases, evidently where restoration has been made, the letters are little more than ordinary writing (see Plate 64). We find the spelling *adolescens* instead of *adulescens* which is used in the other three manuscripts. Abbreviations are frequent in the names, while the figure representing the *Prologus* (Plate 10), and likewise the figures at vv. 591, 766, 820, have no names given with them (Plates 60, 80, 84).

(O)¹ The remaining manuscript, the Dunelmensis at Oxford, is of much later date than the other three, being probably of the twelfth century. In this manuscript the last 201 lines of the *Phormio* are missing, as is also the page which contained illustrations for v. 441 (Act II, 4) and v. 465 (Act III, 1). While the attitudes of the figures in the miniatures follow those of the other manuscripts, the artist has taken great liberty in all the details and clothed the figures in garments which seemed suitable to his medieval eye. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the representation of the women, to whom he has given gowns with long, flowing sleeves, while ornamented borders on the mantles and about the cuffs and neck of the tunic occur in all the draw-

¹ In designating the Dunelmensis as O (Oxoniensis), I follow Hoeing (*Am. Jour. Arch.* IV, 3, p. 310) in order to distinguish this ms. from the Victorianus which is known as D.

ings. In the street scenes the doors open out of little houses or towers elaborately decorated. In fact, the drawings show throughout characteristics of the Byzantine style of decoration. The same characteristics are found in the illustrations of Vaticanus 3305, which is likewise assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and in some medieval frescoes. The drawings of O are entirely in pen and ink and are executed with great care and attention to details of dress, but only a rough attempt is made to represent accurately the positions of the hands and fingers (Plate 4).

The miniatures of this manuscript furnish an example of an artist attempting to improve on the original, and something like it may be seen in the two earliest works which contain reproductions of the Vatican miniatures, one published by Christoph Berger in 1723, Frankfurt and Leipzig, entitled *Commentatio de personis laruis seu mascheris*, etc.; the other, *Pub. Terenti comoediae cum personarum figuris aeri incisus ex Ms. codice bibliothecae Vat.*, published by Fortiguerra at Urbino in 1736.¹ These books, though most rare and interesting editions, could scarcely be said to represent accurately the original miniatures to such an extent has the roughness of the original been toned down and polished to present a work which might prove acceptable to eighteenth century critics. The lettering of the Oxford miniatures is in red, but differs from the other manuscripts in employing capitals for the initial letters only.

Thus we have four manuscripts representing as many totally different styles of miniature work. The methods of drawing and coloring in each are peculiar to its own artist; the heights of the figures vary from an average of less than three inches in C to about three and one half inches in O; the facial expressions, except for the general division of open mouthed, comic masks for old men and slaves and the less grotesque masks for the young men and women, have no points of resemblance, and yet, with all this diversity of character, only a glance is necessary to convince one that they are derived from a common original, so completely do the positions of the figures, the gestures, and

¹ Basore, *The Scenic Value of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Terence, Studies in honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, 1902, pp. 273-85, mentions another Italian edition by Cocquelines, Rome, 1767.

the general action of each scene or group coincide. This is well shown in the illustration which occurs at v. 728 of the *Phormio* (Plates 74, 75, 76, 77) and which doubtless represents the actors at the moment when Chremes says, v. 741, *Concede hinc a foribus paulum istorsum sodes Sophrona*, at the same time grasping the loose end of Sophrona's *palla*. In O, Sophrona is clad in a costume with long, wide sleeves; but the gestures of the two actors are identical with those of the older manuscripts, only here Chremes grasps the long, medieval sleeve instead of the end of the *palla*.

Of the four, the illustrations of F are drawn with the least care and skill and are almost childish in execution. A. Mai, in *M. Acci Plauti fragmenta inedita item ad P. Terentium commentationes et picturae ineditae*, Milan, 1815, p. 13, makes this opposite statement, *Sunt autem Ambrosianae picturae paulo Vaticanis elegantiores*. It is needless to say he has not seen the original, as he says, *quantum ego quidem ex collatione praesertim Agincurtanae Editionis mihi deprehendere visum*. The illustrations of P are drawn with the greatest vigor and action; those of O represent great care in finish and detail; those of C are the only ones in which color is employed to any extent, but this is usually at the expense of action.

A close study of the miniatures of these four manuscripts reveals the fact that the figures of C have less individual variations than those of the other three; that is, when differences occur between the figures in P, F, and O the corresponding detail in C usually agrees in a marked degree with one of the three. This seems to indicate that C is the most careful copy of the common original. For example, take the illustration at v. 728, mentioned above. In P, F, and O the figures of Chremes vary in position; in P the tunic and *pallium* are quite short; in P and O the hand which grasps the end of Sophrona's *palla* is raised higher than in F; the arrangement of the *palla* varies in P, F, and O; in F the doorway is outlined, and the position of the woman's feet is different. Comparing C with the other manuscripts, we find, in this case, that C agrees most nearly with F, except in the position of Sophrona's feet. In other cases C corroborates sometimes the variations in P, sometimes those in F or O.

Of the four manuscripts C and P are the most ancient and are without doubt of about the same date. Silvestre (*Paléographie Universelle*,

Paris, 1841, 2ième Partie) gives the honor of greater age to P. He says: "En tout ce manuscrit du Vatican nous paraît moins ancien d'un quart ou d'un demi siècle que celui de Paris."

We now come to the consideration of the original from which these manuscripts were copied. That this original antedates the copies by several centuries is now a generally acknowledged fact. In the introductory description of the Vatican miniatures reproduced by Harvard University in the edition of the *Phormio* (1894) occurs the statement that the miniatures are "based to a certain extent upon earlier works." Carl Sittl, in *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 205, says: "Die Bilder gehören ihrer kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung nach nicht zu einer antiken Technik sondern zu der im neunten Jahrhundert entwickelten Gattung der Federzeichnungen, welche gerade in den Bewegungen einen derben Realismus aufweisen. Daher ist in den Terenzbildern die antike Zeichnentradition der Gebärden verlassen und das tägliche Leben (z. B. die erwähnte italienische Gewohnheit, die Fingerspitzen zusammenzulegen) nachgebildet; als Vorlage mag freilich, wie für andere Codices ähnlicher Art, eine ältere Handschrift gedient haben, dessen Bilder nach dem Geschmacke und dem Können der Zeit frei umgebildet wurden; auf Kostüm und Masken verwendete der Zeichner gewiss die meiste Sorgfalt. . . . Den Masken, welche vor jedem Stücke stehen, mag freilich ein höheres Alter zukommen." Leo (*Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVIII, p. 337), on the other hand, says that the gesticulations of the Terence illustrations are quite fully explained by the words of the text and that the comparison with Quintilian (II, 3, 143-148) makes it certain that the gestures not only illustrate the text but likewise imitate the stage, at least have come from actual contemplation of the stage. Between the Terence miniatures and others of the ninth century not copied or based upon earlier works there is a marked contrast. In the latter the drawings are more pretentious and elaborate; in a word, there is more detail, less action. The very faults of the Terence illustrations — bad drawing, clumsy treatment, the use of straight lines hindering the action, as in C — are the faults of a copy, especially as in spite of these drawbacks the drawings always illustrate the text with perfect naturalness; and there is furthermore a certain force and general vigor which is far superior to the execution of the drawing and clearly points to a spirited original. As in classical manu-

scripts of early date, so these miniatures occur in spaces reserved for that purpose and are not interwoven with the text as is the case with most decorated manuscripts of the middle ages.

Again, it is hardly to be supposed, in the state of learning which existed in the ninth century, that a scribe would have looked up details of the Greek or early Roman costume and presented pictures which, in regard to dress, would resemble in any degree the costumes in the paintings which have been recovered from Pompeii. An artist of that period would rather have given us representations of the costumes of his own time, such as we find in other manuscripts and in the frescoes and early paintings which present biblical and classical subjects. That the Terence miniatures were not only suggested by but copied, with more or less accuracy, from an ancient original is self evident.

The question at once arises "How ancient was this original?" In his *Histoire des Arts Industriels* (Paris, 1865, III, p. 12) Labarte classes C and P as types of fourth or fifth century miniature work: "On pourrait encore classer parmi les illustrations du quatrième ou du cinquième siècle, celles qui décorent deux manuscrits de Terence, l'un appartenant à la Bibliothèque Vaticane (No. 3868), l'autre à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris (No. 7899) bienque ces deux livres n'aient été écrits qu'au neuvième siècle. Il est évident en effet que les illustrations dans les deux manuscrits ont été copiées sur des originaux qui devaient remonter à l'époque dont nous nous occupons" (fourth or fifth century). The Vienna *Genesis*, which is assigned to the latter part of the fifth century and is known as the earliest Byzantine manuscript, but in reality is rather a product of the last period of decadence in classical Roman art, exhibits indeed one characteristic of the Terence miniatures, i. e. the grouping of the figures in rows on one plane; but the life and action of the latter are replaced by weak composition with little real motive to join or group the figures. On the evidence of this one resemblance to a fifth century manuscript the Terence original could hardly be assigned to that period of decadence any more than to the period of art revival under Byzantine influence.

Two other manuscripts of this period may be mentioned here. One, an illustrated *Aratos*, codex Vossianus (Leiden), of which a description together with many illustrations is given by Thiele in *Antike Himmelsbilder*, *Der illustrierte Aratos* (Berlin, 1898); the other, the Vatican

Virgil described by De Nolhac in *Le Virgile du Vatican* (Paris, 1897). The miniatures of these two manuscripts are of much the same style and are far superior to the *Genesis*, so much so indeed that one is inclined to think that they may have been derived from more ancient manuscripts, especially because of their resemblance to Pompeian paintings. De Nolhac (p. 57) is unwilling that the Virgil miniatures should be assigned "au seuil des âges barbares." He continues: "Lors même que nous n'aurions pas des indices positifs d'une origine plus ancienne, n'est-on pas porté à retirer à la librairie du IV^e ou du VI^e siècle tout mérite autre que celui de la transcription, pour attribuer la première conception de cet admirable Virgile à une florissante époque de l'art romain?" Moreover, there are points of resemblance between the Terence miniatures and the Pompeian wall paintings, in which scenes from tragedies and comedies are employed as subjects. Here are present many of the characteristics which have been noted in the Terence illustrations: the comic mask with distorted mouth and raised eyebrows; the attitudes of the figures; the costumes. These points of similarity prove at least that the same stage traditions were known by the authors of the miniatures and of the wall paintings. In the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (XIII, p. 229) von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff writes: "Die Verbindung von Gedicht und Bild kennen wir ja aus Pompei. . . . Wenn wir eine Ausgabe des Terenz haben wo die Szenen in mannigfacher Weise illustriert sind, wer wollte bezweifeln dass es mit Menander ebenso war und die erhaltenen Wandgemälde und Reliefs mit Komödienszenen gewinnen so einen Zusammenhang." But we may go further. Illuminated manuscripts were not unknown toward the end of the republic and were common at Rome in the imperial period. We find mention of manuscripts, with illustrations, in the authors of that age. Cf. Martial, 9, 186, and Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, III, p. 207. Agincourt (*Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*, Paris, 1823, 2, p. 58) goes so far as to suggest that the original autograph manuscript of the comedies of Terence, from which so many copies were made, was ornamented with these figures by order of Caius Terentius, brother of the poet's master, who, according to Pliny, had had many works of art painted about 180 B.C. This supposition is absurd, even if it were certain that masks were worn by the actors of that time. Donatus twice attributes the introduction of

masks to Ambivius Turpio, who was Terence's theatrical manager. Donat. *praef. ad Ter. Adel.* p. 7, *Haec sane acta est . . . agentibus L. Ambivio et L. Turpione qui cum suis gregibus etiam tum personati agebant.* Again (*ad Eun.* p. 266, ed. Wessner, 1902), *Acta plane est . . . agentibus etiam tunc personatis L. Minucio Prothymo, L. Ambivio Turpione.* In opposition to these statements we find (Donat. *de comoed.* p. 26, ed. Wessner), *Personati primi egisse dicuntur comoediam Cincius Faliscus, tragoediam Minucius Prothymus.* Diomedes (*G. L.* 1, 489) gives this account of the introduction of masks, doubtless on the authority of Suetonius and Varro: *Antea galearibus, non personis utebantur ut qualitas coloris indicium faceret aetatis, cum essent aut albi aut nigri aut rufi. Personis vero uti primus coepit Roscius Gallus praecipuus histrio quod oculis perversis erat nec satis decorus sine personis nisi parasitus pronuntiabat.* The contradictory statements of Donatus incline us to believe the more authentic account given by Diomedes. An attempt has been made by Ribbeck (*Röm. trag.* 661) to reconcile the statements of the two authors by assigning a later date to Minucius and showing that Roscius acted in his troupe. This, however, leaves unexplained the mention of Ambivius Turpio. The statement of Diomedes is supported by Cicero, *de Orat.* 3, 221, who mentions that the Romans were not at all pleased with the innovation when introduced by Roscius; *in ore sunt omnia, in eo autem ipso dominatus est omnis oculorum; quo melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum ne Roscium quidem magnopere laudabant.*¹

There has been some discussion as to the exact meaning of the above passage from Cicero. Christianus Hoffer (*De personarum usu in P. Terentii Comoediis*, 1877) quotes Hoelscher as saying, *Vt personarum in scaena usum illa aetate novum atque insolitum fuisse (Cicero) dicat.*

¹ Cf. Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur*, I², p. 107. "Donat. (de com. p. 10, 1, R) berichtet, dass mit Masken in der Komödie zuerst Cincius Faliscus, in der Tragödie, Minucius Prothymus aufgetreten sei. Diomedes (*Gramm. Lat.* 1, p. 489) dagegen hat aus einer guten Quelle die Notiz, dass zuerst der Schauspieler Roscius wegen seiner scheelen Augen die Masken benutzt habe. Vielleicht lassen sich die beiden Nachrichten mit einander vereinigen wenn wir mit Ribbeck annehmen, dass Roscius unter jenen Direktoren mit der Neuerung auftrat. Im Jahre 91 war sie bereits vor nicht gar langer Zeit eingeführt worden" (Cicero, *de Orat.* 3, 59, 221).

Hoffer himself says, *Equidem enim suspicor Ciceronem ideo maxime scripsisse temporis imperfecti formam 'Laudabant,' ut significaret Roscium primis quidem temporibus cum personam nondum usurparet, senibus satisfecisse omnibus numeris, tum vero cum larvarum usum reciperet, illos non satis laudasse eum quamvis esset histrionum princeps.* It is evident that Roscius delighted the Romans in his interpretation of the rôle of *Parasitus*, acting *impersonatus* 'primis quidem temporibus' and later displeased them when he attempted other rôles which he may have done well with his "squint" concealed by a mask.

The statement of Cicero has much weight, inasmuch as Cicero was a personal friend of Roscius and, according to Plutarch (*Vita Cic.* 5), even studied under him. Moreover, his oration in the actor's behalf is extant. In *Philologus* (1896, pp. 561-5) Otto Crusius has an interesting paper entitled *Die Illustrierten Terenzhandschriften und Tacitus Dialogus XX*. In the *Dialogus*, M. Aper, as Modernus, is represented as saying, *Volgus quoque adsistentium . . . adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in iudiciiis tristem et inpexam antiquitatem, quam si quis in scaena Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit.*

In the absence of any authentic treatise on the gestures of Ambivius Turpio to which Tacitus could have had access when writing the above, Crusius suggests that he may have been acquainted with the gestures, employed by Turpio, through these same Terence miniatures. While it is quite possible that Tacitus may have had these illustrations in mind in making this simile, still the entire reference seems rather a figure of speech very well illustrating his point that the simplicity and dignity of the past no longer existed in the oratory any more than in the theatre of his day. In its bearing on the Terence miniatures this evidence must be considered purely speculative.

Other evidence has been brought forward to show that the plays themselves indicate that they were not originally intended to be acted by masked actors. In the *Phormio* (v. 210) we have Antipho assuming various expressions and attitudes and appealing to Phormio as to which would be best to adopt in his coming interview with his angry father. Again (v. 890) Phormio declares he must change his expression, *Nunc gestus mihi voltusque est capiendus novos*. Similar passages in the other comedies present the idea that masks were not used.

Hoffer concludes the paper quoted above as follows, *Demonstrasse autem mihi videor, nec testimonium veterum scriptorum ullum extare quo efficiatur Terentio vivo iam adhibuisse histriones in eius agendis fabulis larvas et fabulas ipsas, Andriam maxime et Phormionem, id est primam et ultimam*,¹ *satis luculenter intellegi a poeta eo compositas esse consilio ut agerentur ab actoribus impersonatis.*

The most positive evidence as to the age of the miniatures is to be found in Quintilian, 11, 3, 85 ff. Concerning the use of the hands, we find this statement (cf. Plates 85, 86, 87), *Nam ceterae partes loquentem adiuvant, hae, prope est ut dicam, ipsae loquuntur. An non his poscimus, pollicemur, vocamus, dimittimus, minamur, supplicamus, abominamur, timemus, interrogamus, negamus, gaudium, tristitiam, dubitationem, confessionem, paenitentiam, modum, copiam, numerum, tempus ostendimus? Non eaedem concitant, inhihent, supplicant, probant, admirantur, verecundantur? Non in demonstrandis locis ac personis adverbiorum atque pronominum obtinent vicem? Vt in tanta per omnes gentes nationesque linguae diversitate hic mihi omnium hominum communis sermo videatur.* That great importance was attached by the Greeks to the use of the hands and fingers in gesturing is well known. The tendency to imitate the Greeks in all details of the new comedy prepared the way for masks on the Roman stage, a custom which in Greece was necessitated by the size of the theatre, but which in Rome must be considered simply as a servile imitation of Greek manners which was frowned upon at first by the Roman theatergoer, accustomed to the mime. As the use of masks became prevalent, the hands were more and more called upon to indicate feelings and emotions which had hitherto been left to facial expression. Each gesture had its name and expressed distinct emotions. There were special gestures *abeuntis* or *abituri*, *cogitantis*, *observantis*, *stomachantis*, *offerentis*, etc. (cf. Leo, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVIII, p. 337).

One striking attitude is the *gestus servilis*. This consists in grasping, with one or both hands, the scarf which, in every representation of the *servus*, hangs from the shoulder; the head is lowered and the shoulders contracted, giving a crouching position to the whole figure.² Quintilian

¹ This statement is of course wrong chronologically. *Primam et ultimam* may refer to the order in which the comedies occur in C, P, F, and O.

² See Geta and Davus in the illustrations.

thus describes the gesture (11, 3, 83): *Vmerorum raro decens adlevatio atque contractio est. Breuiatur enim cervix et gestum quendam humilem atque servilem, et quasi fraudulentum facit, cum se in habitum adulationis, admirationis, metus fingunt.* In the illustrations of the six comedies the slave assumes this gesture whenever he appears. In the following instances he does not grasp the scarf: *Andria*, 2, 1; 3, 2; 4, 1; 4, 3; 5, 2; *Eunuchus*, 5, 6; *Adelphoe*, 2, 3; 2, 4; 3, 2; 3, 5; 4, 1; 5, 1; 5, 2; *Phormio*, 1, 1. In all of these exceptions both hands are employed gesticulating or holding something, as *Phormio* 1, 1, where Davus gesticulates with the right hand and grasps the money bag with the left (Plates 12, 13, 14, 15).

That gestures were used in everyday life and by orators as well as by actors is evident, and thus becoming identified with the language, it is not surprising that they were transmitted to Quintilian's time and that he should attach so much importance to the use of the hands. The part of this treatise on oratory, which is of particular interest in connection with the miniatures, is the chapter dealing with finger gestures. Here are described several gestures which can be readily recognized in the Terence miniatures, thus showing that gestures for certain emotions had become conventional. In Quin. 11, 3, 92, we find this description of a common gesture, *Est autem gestus ille maxime communis quo medius digitus in pollicem contrahitur explicitis tribus*, a gesture *in narrando certus*. In *Phormio*, 2, 4, 441 (Plates 40, 41, 42), Hegio is represented with his fingers in the above position while he advises Demipho.¹ In this scene notice the position of the actors. Geta, about to depart on Demipho's errand, is at the extreme left; then Demipho, facing the three *advocati* who stand in the order in which they deliver their professional advice to Demipho. In C and F Cratinus is represented as a bald-headed old man; in all three manuscripts he carries a book and has the large mouthed mask. Evidently he is the senior member of the group, and this explains why Hegio insists that Cratinus should give his advice first. Speaking of the forefinger, Quintilian says (11, 3, 95), *Acrius tamen argumentari videntur, qui medium*

¹ All these finger gestures are best shown in the illustrations of C. In the other mss. the hands are carelessly drawn and exaggerated; in many cases, as in plate 37, the gesture of the original is only roughly indicated in the copy.

articulum potius tenent (the forefinger being pressed at the middle joint by the middle finger and thumb) *tanto contractioribus ultimis digitis, quanto priores descenderunt*. Compare *Phormio*, 4, 3, 606, Plates 62, 63, 64, and 65, where Geta and Demipho are arguing about the amount due to Phormio. Here again the grouping is excellent. Geta and Demipho are engaged in excited conversation in the centre; at the left stands Antipho, consumed with anxiety as to Geta's meaning; while Chremes at the extreme right tries to bring Demipho around to Geta's proposition. In F the names of Chremes and Demipho are interchanged.

Another gesture is described as follows (11, 3, 96), *Est et ille verecundae orationi aptissimus quo quattuor primis leviter in summum coeuntibus digitis, non procul ab ore aut pectore fertur ad nos manus et deinde prona ac paulum prolata laxatur*. See *Phormio*, 2, 1, 231, where Demipho bewails his misfortunes (Plates 28, 29, 30, 31). In O the positions of Demipho's fingers are quite different, but the general gesture is the same. In *Phormio*, 3, 3, 534, the position of Geta's hand may represent the beginning of this gesture, and that of Antipho its conclusion (Plates 50, 51, 52, 53).

Again Quintilian says (11, 3, 101), *Pollici proximus digitus, mediumque qua dexter est, unguem pollicis summo suo iungens, remissis ceteris, est et adprobantibus et narrantibus et distinguentibus decorus*. Cf. *Phormio*, 2, 3, 348 (Plates 36, 37, 38, 39), where Geta says aside to Phormio, v. 429, *Bene habent tibi principia*.¹ In P the names of Demipho and Phormio are interchanged. Here, as in v. 441, Cratinus is represented as an old man with a book. Also for this gesture, see *Phormio*, 4, 3, 606 (Plates 62, 63, 64, 65), where Chremes approves Geta's plan to marry off the girl to Phormio.

For the gesture described by Quintilian, 11, 3, 103, *Est et illa cava et rara et super umeri altitudinem elata cum quodam motu velut hortatrix manus*, we may compare *Phormio*, 3, 2, 485 (Plates 46, 47, 48, 49), where Dorio is appealing to Antipho as to the justice of his dealings with Phaedria. The latter stands anxiously at one side while Geta gives vent to various exclamations of disgust. Also cf. v. 441 (Plates 40, 41, 42) where Cratinus and Crito are advising Demipho.

¹ This gesture is particularly well seen in F.

Again, the description given by Quintilian, 11, 3, 104, *Quin compresam etiam manum in paenitentia vel ira pectori admovemus*, is illustrated by *Phormio*, 5, 2, 766 (Plates 78, 79, 80, 81), where Demipho in anger repents having bribed Phormio, saying (v. 772), *Vt stultissime quidem illi rem gesserimus*. C and F show the gesture most clearly. In this scene the life and action of Geta is striking; and indeed the same characteristics are exhibited by nearly every representation of a slave in the manuscripts. This fact is of interest, since the rôle of slave corresponded to some extent to that of our modern clown, and from him much of the life of the scene was derived.

Concerning gestures with both hands Quintilian says (11, 3, 114), *Manus sinistra numquam sola gestum recte facit: dextrae frequenter se accomodat, sive in digitos argumenta digerimus, sive aversis in sinistram palmis abominamur, sive obicimus adversas, sive in latus utramque distendimus*. In the *Phormio* only one example of a gesture with both hands occurs (5, 1, 728; Plates 74, 75, 76, 77): Sophrona stands with both hands outstretched in an attitude of startled surprise. While we have here an attitude indicating surprise, well represented in all four manuscripts, at the same time the faces of Sophrona in the various manuscripts are absolutely without expression, due of course to the mask. It was doubtless this incongruity of bodily expression and facial immobility to which the Romans were so strongly opposed when masks were first introduced.

As to striking the thigh, we find the following (Quin. 11, 3, 123), *Femur ferire, quod Athenis primus fecisse creditur Cleon, et usitatum est et indignantes decet et excitat auditorem*. An example of this is found in *Phormio*, 2, 2, 315 (Plates 32, 33, 34, 35), where Phormio expresses his indignation at Antipho's desertion, which is dramatically related by Geta, who at the same time implores Phormio's assistance. The action in P is particularly good.

The gesture for commiseration is thus described (Quin. 11, 3, 124), *Illud quoque raro decebit, cava manu summis digitis pectus appetere, si quando nosmet ipsos adloquemur cohortantes, obiurgantes, miserantes*. In the miniatures grief is indicated by *digitis vultus appetere*, the index finger touching the face, the other fingers being contracted. This modification of the gesture given by Quintilian occurs several times. Cf. *Phormio*, 1, 3, 153 (Plates 20, 21, 22, 23), where Antipho, having

obtained the object of his affection, now has time to reflect upon the terrors which await him when his father returns. In his despair and fright he appeals to Phaedria, who rebukes him for his faint-heartedness and relates his own hopeless condition, ending with the wise observation, v. 172, *Ita plerique ingenio sumus omnes: nostri nosmet paenitet*. Perhaps no illustration has caught the spirit of the text better than the miniature in C at the beginning of this scene. Antipho is wholly wretched, and Phaedria wholly virtuous in his rôle of confidential adviser. Again, *Phormio*, 3, 1, 465 (Plates 43, 44, 45), Antipho, still alarmed as to what his father may do, consults Geta, adopting the same attitude of despair which he assumed in v. 153. In *Phormio*, 3, 3, 534 (Plates 50, 51, 52, 53), Phaedria despairs of raising the thirty minae to purchase his mistress. The situation in 1, 3, 153, is now reversed and Antipho becomes the adviser and secures Geta's assistance in Phaedria's behalf. In *Phormio*, 5, 9, 990 (Plates 95, 96), we see Nausistrata overcome with grief at learning of her husband's duplicity.

A gesture not mentioned by Quintilian, but which might be called the gesture for narration or argument, occurs very frequently. The first two fingers are extended while the last two are brought under the thumb. This may be a variation of the gesture mentioned above (Quin. 11, 3, 94), the position of the thumb alone being different. (See *Phaedria*, v. 153; Plates 20, 21, 22, 23.) This gesture also occurs in the figure at the beginning of the comedy representing the *Prologus* (Plates 8, 9, 10, 11). In C the figure bears something in the left hand which possibly is intended for a palm branch, inasmuch as the comedy was presented at the *Ludi Romani*. Since the left hand is wrapped in the *pallium* this branch was doubtless an afterthought of the artist. The exactness with which these gestures, as described by Quintilian, can be applied to the Terence miniatures proves with certainty that they preserve for us the very gestures employed by the early Romans and handed down to the time of Quintilian.

We have also seen, on the authority of Diomedes, that masks were first introduced at Rome by Roscius. Cicero supports this statement (*de Orat.* 3, 221). The miniatures could not have been executed before this innovation (about 100 B.C.). Leo (*Rhein. Mus.* XXXVIII, 342) says that the original could not well be assigned to a period later than the destruction of Pompeii because of the resemblance existing

between the miniatures and the Pompeian paintings which represent the theatre. Thus, with due allowance for careless or wilfully distorted copying, it seems reasonable to assume that the Terence manuscripts, through an ancient prototype, represent the attitudes, dress, and gestures of Roscius and the theatre of his day and perhaps, by tradition, the theatre of Ambivius Turpio as well. In any case the original was earlier than Quintilian's day.

NOTE

In reproducing the miniatures no uniform scale of reduction has been adopted as it seemed best to place the four illustrations, occurring at the beginning of corresponding scenes, on opposite pages and, in order to carry out this page arrangement, it was necessary to reproduce the miniatures in which three or more figures occur on a smaller scale than those containing fewer figures. Consequently the scale of reduction varies from about one-half to three-fourths of the size of the original. (The miniatures of C, reproduced in the Harvard Phormio, 1894, are about five-sixths of the size of the original.) The miniatures are given in the order C, P, F, O, wherever the illustrations occur in all four manuscripts. In O the *aedicula* and illustrations at vv. 441 and 465 are missing, F lacks the illustration at v. 841, while both F and O lack illustrations at vv. 894 and 990.

The letter on the left, below each plate, indicates the manuscript from which the miniature is taken. The number on the right refers to the verse of the Phormio at the beginning of the scene before which the miniature stands.

This article was in print before the appearance of the facsimile of the Codex Ambrosianus of Terence, Sijthoff, Leyden, 1903.

THE RELATION OF THE SCENE-HEADINGS TO THE MINIATURES IN MANUSCRIPTS OF TERENCE

BY JOHN CALVIN WATSON

THE miniatures preserved in certain manuscripts of Terence have long attracted the attention of students of ancient life. On the date of their origin scholars have held widely different views, but since the publication of Leo's investigation of this subject, his conclusion, that their origin must be assigned to a very early period, has been generally accepted.¹ It cannot be said, however, that Leo's arguments are entirely convincing, for some scholars still hold to the late origin of the miniatures.² If it is only within the last twenty years that a subject, in itself so attractive, has received any measurably adequate treatment, it is not surprising that another subject, somewhat similar in nature, has been comparatively neglected. I refer to the origin of the scene-headings, the names of characters, usually with their rôles, prefixed to each scene in which the characters named are participants. The reasons for the neglect of this subject are not hard to find. It was not until the publication of Umpfenbach's critical edition of Terence, in 1870, that the material necessary for such a study became available. After the appearance of Umpfenbach's edition, its inaccuracy in many respects may have discouraged consideration of a subject which, it may be added, seemed to offer little promise of any results.

On the origin of the scene-headings little has been written. As a subject of investigation, however, these have not been entirely neglected by classical scholars. Before the appearance of Umpfenbach's edition of Terence, nothing, so far as I have been able to find, had been written about them, although they are a prominent feature in the mss. both of

¹ Cf. *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII, pp. 317-347, especially p. 334 ff.

² Two writers have expressed this belief: C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, p. 206; and R. Klotz, *Grundzüge altrömischer Metrik*, p. 563. Sittl thinks that the originals were not older than the fourth or fifth century, while Klotz would assign them to the eighth century.

Plautus and of Terence. The principle to be employed by a modern editor of Plautus in the division of scenes was discussed by Ritschl,¹ who followed Bothe closely in this respect. Since Ritschl, in accordance with the principle of scene-division adopted by him, deviated in many places from the tradition of the mss., it is evident that his discussion is theoretical. He frequently mentioned the scene-headings in mss. of Plautus, but it was with reference to the names of characters, or to the abbreviations which are frequently used in certain mss. of this author to distinguish the *cantica* and the *diverbia*. In no place, so far as I have found, does he mention the scene-headings as a subject of investigation in themselves.

The first scholar, therefore, to give any attention to this subject was apparently Umpfenbach.² His remarks are very brief, and are confined to the Bembinus of Terence. In the same year Studemund referred with equal brevity to the scene-headings both in this ms. and in the Ambrosianus of Plautus.³ It was not until 1883, however, that any discussion of the subject based upon the more important mss. of both authors appeared. In the year named, Spengel published an article on scene-headings and scene-division, in both, however, referring chiefly to the mss. of Plautus.⁴ This article was reviewed three years later by Seyffert with such thoroughness that, in some respects, he made a new contribution to the literature on this subject.⁵ Seyffert's discussion, however, like that of Spengel, is confined chiefly to Plautus. The next contribution was made by Schlee, who tried to show that the scene-headings transmitted in the illustrated mss. of Terence had their source in mss. of the δ family.⁶ The latest reference that I have found to the subject is Dr. Prescott's investigation of the source of the names found in the scene-headings in the Palatine mss. of Plautus.⁷ Single headings and the division of scenes in particular places have sometimes been discussed briefly in the editions.

¹ *Opusc. Phil.* II, pp. 365-368.

² *Praef. ed. crit.* p. ix f.

³ *Commentatio de Vidularia Plautina*, p. 19, n. 36.

⁴ *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad., phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1883, II, pp. 257-298.

⁵ *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, XLVII (1886), pp. 9-14.

⁶ *Scholia Terentiana*, p. 6 f.

⁷ *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.* IX, pp. 102-108.

Such is the brief list of references that I have found to this subject. Most of the theories that have been advanced on the general subject are based upon the mss. of Plautus rather than on those of Terence. So far as these relate to Terence they will be noticed at the proper place. That many of them are wrong, and that for Terence, at least, the treatment of this subject has been wholly inadequate, will be shown in this paper. None of the scholars named seems to have suspected the existence of any relationship between the miniatures in the γ mss. of Terence and the scene-headings in mss. of all classes and families.¹ Schlee denied the existence of such a relationship even in the illustrated mss., and it has always been assumed without argument that in their origin, at least, the miniatures and the scene-headings were in no way connected.² The purpose of this paper is to show that these are so closely related that one of them must owe its origin to the other.³

¹ The Ambrosianus (F) in its text shows characteristic readings of both families of mss., but in its miniatures it clearly belongs to the γ family.

² Professor W. M. Lindsay, however, seems to have suspected that some of the names in the scene-headings of mss. of Plautus were derived from pictures. Cf. *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, IX, p. 108, n.

³ It is proper that a statement should be made of the material upon which this investigation is based. In the study of the miniatures I have used facsimiles and reproductions as far as these have been accessible. For the *Phormio* the material of this kind has been complete. The photographic reproductions of the Vatican miniatures, which were published on the occasion of the presentation of this play at Harvard University in 1894, have been constantly at my hand. For the miniatures of this play in the other three important illustrated mss., I am indebted to Mr. K. E. Weston, of Williams College, for permission to use his drawings, which are published in this volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. Of imitations of the miniatures only those of the Vatican manuscript made by Cocquelines for his edition of Terence, Rome, 1767, have been accessible. For these I have used the copy of Cocquelines in the library of Cornell University. I am aware that from the time of Wieseler, the faithfulness of these to the originals has been questioned. It has lately been shown by J. W. Basore, *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, p. 276 f., n. 3, that in a number of places (to which should be added *And.* 2, 3), Cocquelines devised pictures of his own. It is true also that he supplied an *aedicula personarum* for the *Eunuchus* and changed the figure of the *prologus* in all the plays. The pictures in a few places were transferred to another part of the scene, but the pictures themselves suffered no material alterations. For matters of detail in gestures and dress they are inaccurate. The position of the fingers in gestures is not infrequently changed. In their general aspect, however, the gestures are true to the

It is recognized that any adequate treatment of the scene-headings in MSS. of Terence must include those also in MSS. of Plautus, for these are so similar in content and form that there must be some connection between them. Except in places, however, where the point under discussion can best be illustrated by examples from Plautus, the scene-headings in MSS. of this author will be disregarded. The present paper will be confined to a discussion of the relationship existing between the scene-headings and the miniatures in MSS. of Terence. The scene-headings transmitted in codices of Plautus, together with the history of these in both authors, is a subject which the writer proposes to consider in a later paper.

For convenience in reference the table given on p. 60 has been prepared to show the MSS. of Terence used in the preparation of this paper. For each of these the usual classification according to family is given, the usual abbreviation (if one has been assigned it), the century in which it was written, the method in which the text is divided into scenes, and

originals. Excluding the *aedicula* of the *Eunuchus*, the figures of the *prologus* and the few other pictures supplied by Cocquelines, the imitations faithfully reproduce the general appearance of the originals. The order of characters in a miniature was changed in but one place. This exception, *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), proves the rule, for the change was necessary in order to reduce the picture to the limits of Cocquelines' page. For my purpose, therefore, the identification of the figures in the miniatures, I have not hesitated to use Cocquelines' edition. In no place, however, have I permitted the interpretation of the miniatures to rest upon this evidence alone. In testing the accuracy of Cocquelines and in determining the order of characters in the Vatican miniatures, I have received most valuable aid from Professor Minton Warren's notes on this manuscript, which have been generously placed at my disposal. In a few places where the identification of figures is difficult, Dr. C. L. Babcock, of Cornell University, has further examined for me the miniatures in this manuscript. To Dr. Donald Cameron, a fellow-student in Classical Philology in Harvard University, now continuing his studies in Europe, I am under obligation for an account of the miniatures and the distribution of scenes in two Paris MSS., Nos. 7900 and 7903, and for his careful examination of the order of figures in the miniatures of these MSS., of the Dunelmensis (O), and especially the Parisinus No. 7899 (P).

For the scene-headings in the Victorianus (D), Riccardianus (E), and in part of the Ambrosianus (F), and the Parisinus (P), I have used Umpfenbach's edition of Terence. On the Parisinus I owe further information to Mr. Weston, who kindly examined for me every scene in which the headings in either this MS. or the Vaticanus (C) were omitted by the first hand, or have been altered by a later hand.

the parts which are lost, or are written by later hands. These items are taken in part from the Preface to Hauler's edition of the *Phormio* (1898), p. 29.

ORDER OF NAMES IN THE SCENE-HEADINGS

A characteristic feature of the scene-headings is the order in which the names appear. This was noticed, no doubt, long before Umpfenbach and Studemund, but it was left for these two scholars in the year 1870 to record their observation of this fact.¹ It was then pointed out for the first time that in the heading of any scene the characters are usually named in the order of their first participation in the dialogue. It was noticed, however, by both the scholars named above, that when two characters having the same rôle, as *servi*, *senes*, *adulescentes*, *ancillae*, are active in the same scene, their names, without regard to the order of their participation in the dialogue, are usually written together. This was regarded by Umpfenbach as the device of a copyist. Both Umpfenbach and Studemund were occupied chiefly in pointing out

From Professor Warren's collations of mss. of Terence I have been able to confirm or to correct the scene-headings given by Umpfenbach for the Bembinus (A), Vaticanus (C), Decurtatus (G), and, in part, the Ambrosianus (F). Through Professor Warren, also, I have secured a copy of the scene-headings in the Dunelmensis (O). For the scene-headings in the important scholia codex Monacensis 14420 (M), I have followed Schlee in the *Scholia Terentiana*, pp. 17-34. The few scene-headings in the Vienna fragment (V) I have taken from Hauler's account of this ms. published in the *Wiener Studien*, XVIII, p. 84 ff. For part of the Parisinus No. 10304 the scene-headings given by Fritsch in the *Philologus*, XXXII, p. 446 ff. have been available. Through Mr. G. F. Heffebower I have secured a complete list of these, and an account of the division of the text into scenes in this ms. I am further indebted to Dr. Cameron for the list of the headings and the distribution of scenes in the Lipsiensis (L). This ms. must be regarded as especially important, since Dr. Kauer in the *Zeitschr. f. d. österreich. Gymn.*, LII (1901), p. 988, has expressed his belief that this, rather than the Victorianus, is the best representative of the δ family. For the scene-headings and the division of scenes in the commentary preserved under the name of Donatus, I have followed P. Wessner in the preface to Vol. I of his new critical edition of Donatus, p. xlviii f.

To the friends, named above, who have personally aided me in securing new material, or have given me permission to use their own collections in my investigation of this subject, I here express my gratitude.

¹ For the references, see p. 56.

Family	Abbrev.	Manuscripts	Century	Division of Scenes is indicated by	Notes on Contents
δ	A	Bembinus.	IV/V	Scene-headings.	Lost: <i>And.</i> 1-786 (all); 787-888 (almost all); 903-914 (almost all); <i>Hec.</i> Prol. I, II, 1-30 (all); <i>Ad.</i> 915-997 (almost all).
	D	Victorinus.	X	Scene-headings.	Lost: <i>Eun.</i> Per. By later hand: <i>And.</i> 98-179, 384-453, 846-903; <i>Haut.</i> 466-517; <i>Phorm.</i> 588-633.
	G	Decurtatus.	XI	Scene-headings, or spaces for them.	Lost: <i>Eun.</i> 848-1021; <i>Haut.</i> Per., 1-313, 1049-1067; <i>Phorm.</i> 779-1055; <i>Hec.</i> 1-194, 310-880.
	L	Lipsiensis.	X	Scene-headings.	Lost: <i>And.</i> 74-376.
	M	Monacensis. No. 14420.	XI	Scene-headings (a few omitted).	Lost: Scholia on <i>And.</i> 364-427.
		Parisinus. No. 10304.	X	Scene-headings, or spaces for them.	Lost: <i>And.</i> Per., 1-302; <i>Phorm.</i> Prol. 1-25; <i>Ad.</i> Prol. 1-12, 987-997.
	V	Fragm. Vindobonense.	X	Scene-headings.	Contains only <i>And.</i> 912-981; <i>Ad.</i> Per., 26-158.
	C	Vaticanus. No. 3868.	IX/X	Miniatures with scene-headings.	Lost: <i>Eun.</i> Per. By later hand: <i>And.</i> 804-853; <i>Eun.</i> Prol.
	O	Dunelmensis, or Oxoniensis.	XII	Miniatures with scene-headings.	Lost: <i>And.</i> 459-480; 716-742; <i>Eun.</i> 495-526; <i>Phorm.</i> 437-464, 854-893, 944-1055.
	P	Parisinus. No. 7899.	IX/X	Miniatures with scene-headings.	Lost: <i>Eun.</i> Per. By later hand: <i>And.</i> 804-853; <i>Eun.</i> Prol. 1-30.
γ		Parisinus. No. 7900.	X	Miniatures (in <i>And.</i> and to <i>Eun.</i> 4, 3), or spaces usually for them. Scene-headings from <i>Haut.</i> 4, 4.	Lost: <i>And.</i> Per., 1-78, 924-981; <i>Eun.</i> Per., 1-80. By later hand: <i>And.</i> 797-871.
		Parisinus. No. 7903.	XI	Miniatures (for <i>And.</i> 1, 1; 1, 2; <i>Haut.</i> 1, 1), or spaces usually for them with scene-headings.	Lost: <i>Eun.</i> Per. Possibly by later hand: <i>Haut.</i> Per.
	F	Ambrosianus.	X	Miniatures usually with scene-headings.	Lost: <i>And.</i> ; <i>Eun.</i> 1-415; <i>Phorm.</i> 832-1055.
μ	E	Riccardianus.	XI	Scene-headings.	Lost: <i>Eun.</i> Per.; <i>Phorm.</i> 900-1055. By later hand: <i>And.</i> Per., 1-39.

scene-headings which show some violation of the usual order of names. In the larger number even of these Umpfenbach saw no single cause operating. In two scenes he thought that it was due to the mention of a character before he takes any part in the dialogue.¹ This is improbable, since in several other scenes of this kind the names are given in the usual order.² In two other scenes he saw that the disorder in the names might be explained by a different distribution of the *notae* of characters for which there is manuscript authority.³ In these scenes the headings, if measured by the order of *notae* which assign the dialogue in the Bembinus, have an unusual order of names; if measured by the distribution of the dialogue in part or all of the later MSS., they are perfectly regular. This explanation, as will be shown later, is probably correct. There is no probability, however, in Umpfenbach's suggestion that in three other headings the disorder might have arisen from a different distribution of the dialogue for which there is no manuscript authority.⁴ In these scenes any deviations from the traditional assignment of the dialogue would be very unnatural. In the remaining three scenes where Umpfenbach found the headings in disorder, he ascribed this fact to the negligence of a copyist.⁵ Studemund accounted for all of the ten in this way. It is obvious that such an explanation is to be given only as a last resort.

Umpfenbach confined his remarks to the Bembinus of Terence, but Studemund added some information about the scene-headings in the Ambrosianus of Plautus. Neither of these scholars mentioned in connection with this subject the later MSS. of either author. It remained for Spengel to note that in all MSS., both of Plautus and of Terence, the characteristic order of names is the same.⁶ In support of this state-

¹ *Haut.* 2, 3 (v. 242); 4, 7 (v. 829).

² Cf. *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614); 4, 4 (v. 723); *Ad.* 3, 4 (v. 447).

³ *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031); *Phorm.* 5, 9 (v. 990). For the first, see p. 90 f.; the second, p. 98.

⁴ *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454); *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348); *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776). Umpfenbach gives also *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643), but this is perfectly regular.

⁵ *Haut.* 5, 5 (v. 1045); *Phorm.* 2, 1 (v. 231); *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265). Umpfenbach gives also *Ad.* 2, 3 (v. 254), but this, like *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), is irregular only in giving the name of a mute character among the interlocutors.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

ment Spengel gave no statistics, and while he recognized the fact that the names are in disorder in some scene-headings, he gave no list of such exceptions in any manuscript. In giving the general rule he was right, but in one statement he was certainly wrong. With regard to the practice in the Bembinus of uniting in a heading characters of the same rôle, contrary to the order in which they first enter the dialogue, he held that, with the conspicuous exception of this codex, it is found in only the less valuable mss. of either author. Studemund had already alluded to the fact that such names are found united in the Ambrosianus of Plautus. In a review of Spengel's article Seyffert pointed out this fact, and gave further information about the later mss. of Plautus, showing that in these also the uniting of such names is not unusual.¹ In most of the Palatine mss. this arrangement, so far from being unusual, is found in a majority of headings of this character. The same is true of the later mss. of Terence. To show the practice in each of these, the table given below has been prepared. The first column gives the number of scenes in each in which characters of the same rôle are united contrary to the order of their first participation in the dialogue; the second column gives the number in which they are separated.²

	United	Separated
A	7	1
D	6	3
G	3	3
L	5	4
M	4	4
Paris. 10304	6	4
E	2	7

From this table it is evident that in the better mss. of Terence there is a strong tendency to unite the names of such characters, even in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

² The complete list of such scenes is as follows: *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301); 2, 5 (v. 412); 5, 2 (v. 842); *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723); *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643); 5, 8 (v. 1031) in Aδ; *Phorm.* 3, 2 (v. 485); 4, 5 (v. 713); 5, 3 (v. 784) in E; 5, 8 (v. 894); 5, 9 (v. 990); *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265); 3, 4 (v. 447). For the arrangement of the figures in the miniatures at these places, see p. 71 f. On *And.* 5, 2 (v. 842), see p. 168, n. 5. On *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723), see p. 158 f. On *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031), see p. 150 f. On *Phorm.* 5, 3 (v. 784), see p. 151 f. On *Phorm.* 5, 8 (v. 894) and 5, 9 (v. 990), see p. 97 f.

violation of the order of their participation in the dialogue. Contrary to Spengel's statement, it is only in the inferior mss. both of Plautus and of Terence that such names are separated in a majority of the scenes of this character.

For scene-headings which show some violation of the usual order Spengel offered a new explanation. He suggested that in early mss., wherever characters remain on the stage for two successive scenes, they were denoted in the heading of the second by the words *EIDEM* or *IDEM*. For these words copyists afterwards supplied the names in one of two ways: either they took them from the heading of the previous scene, or they took them from the text of the scene in the heading of which the abbreviation was used. In the latter case the names were arranged in the usual order. In the former case they reproduced the order of the names in question in the preceding scene. If the characters common to both scenes chanced to speak in a different order in the second, the order of names derived in this manner was unusual.

Such is Spengel's theory. Seyffert seems rather inclined to accept it. I cannot believe, however, that it is the true explanation of the origin of the unusual order of names in the scene-headings. In any two successive scenes which have one or more characters in common, it would have been impossible for a copyist, by reference to the heading of the first, to determine the names for which the abbreviation in the second was used, unless all the characters active in the first scene remained on the stage for the second. If the names had been supplied in this way, it is obvious that errors would easily have been made. Scarcely an error in the names given by the headings in mss. of Terence can be pointed out. If the copyist was obliged to examine the dialogue of the scene in the heading of which the abbreviation was used, it is not clear why he should have referred to the heading of the first scene at all.

Another objection to the theory is that Spengel assumes the common use of *EIDEM* and *IDEM* in early mss. No instance of such an abbreviation occurs in the Bembinus of Terence. In the Ambrosian palimpsest of Plautus very few words denoting the rôles of characters have survived the erasure of the original writing. The word *IDEM* is found twice, and is used, apparently, in place of the names of characters.¹ It is almost

¹ *Poen.* 5, 3 (v. 1120); 5, 5 (v. 1280).

certain, however, that the names of characters were usually given in this MS., so that the use of IDEM in the two places mentioned must be considered rare. In the later MSS., where these words are not uncommon, they are very rarely in Plautus, never in Terence, used in place of the names. There is no evidence of any tendency to omit these words in the scene-headings. On the contrary, there is evidence that they have crept into the scene-headings in some of the later MSS. of Terence.¹ They do not always refer to the characters in the preceding scene, but are found sometimes with names of characters who have just come upon the stage.² For these reasons I question Spengel's right to assume the use of such abbreviations in early MSS.

The theory can easily be tested in any MS. by the scene-headings which have the names of characters arranged in an unusual order. If it gives the true explanation of the way in which the disorder arose, in every pair of scenes which have some characters in common, the scene-heading of the second, if this is unusual in any way, should present the names in question in the order in which they are found in the first. Of the twelve scene-headings in the Bembinus which have an unusual order of names, every one has at least two characters active in the preceding scene. In every instance it is in the arrangement of the names of such characters that the disorder exists. In five scenes the same order of names is given,³ in five it is different,⁴ and in two scenes two names are wrongly in the same relative order, while a third name is in a different and correct position.⁵ The very fact, however, that the third name is in another and correct position is evidence that the other two names were not taken from the preceding heading, for in that case we should expect all the names to stand in the same relative order. Leaving these out of consideration, Spengel's theory can explain the origin of the disorder in only half the instances. In the other half it fails precisely for the reason that the order is not the same

¹ Cf. p. 166 f.

² Cf. in D *Phorm.* 4, 5 (v. 713); *Hec.* 3, 4 (v. 415).

³ *Haut.* 2, 3 (v. 242); 4, 7 (v. 829); *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454); *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348); 3, 2 (v. 485).

⁴ *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031); *Phorm.* 2, 1 (v. 231); 5, 3, 12 (v. 795); *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265); 5, 2 (v. 776).

⁵ *Haut.* 5, 5 (v. 1045); *Phorm.* 5, 9 (v. 990); on this scene, see p. 97 f.

as that in the several scenes immediately preceding. This equal division of the scene-headings when tested by the theory is about the result that would be expected with any incorrect theory. It is probable, therefore, that it is wholly due to chance that the theory does seem to explain the origin of the disorder in half the headings.

For the reasons which I have given, the explanation proposed by Spengel seems very doubtful. It cannot be applied to the Bembinus. If it is tested by the rest of the mss., the results are much the same.

So far as I am aware, these are the only theories offered in explanation of the unusual order of names in certain scene-headings. Since none of them appears to be satisfactory, the problem deserves further study. The solution is not to be found in the scene-headings themselves, but must be sought in the miniatures with which a few mss. are illustrated. The evidence which will be presented will make it clear, it is believed, that a very close relationship exists between the order of figures in the miniatures and the order of names in the scene-headings. Before this evidence can be presented, it is necessary to turn for a time from the scene-headings to consider certain questions connected with the miniatures.

FIGURES OF CHARACTERS IN THE MINIATURES

Students of ancient life have studied the miniatures chiefly with the purpose of discovering, if possible, their place in the history of art, their history, and the evidence which they preserve about the dress, the masks, and the gestures of ancient actors. The relationship existing between the miniatures and the text of Terence is a subject that has scarcely been touched. From the time of Mme. Dacier it has been believed that the pictures are a valuable source of information about the ancient performance of the plays. Wieseler had frequent occasion to remark the artist's acquaintance with the text of the comedies. This is a theme, however, which has yet to receive adequate treatment. In other respects this subject seems to have been neglected. No one, apparently, has ever perceived that the artist adopted a definite principle in the arrangement of the figures in the miniatures, and in the distribution of the miniatures through the text of the several plays. The first of these two points is properly discussed at this place. The

second will be considered in connection with the subject of scene-division.¹

Even a cursory examination of the miniatures must convince any one that the artist who first prepared them had studied carefully the text of the plays. Numerous examples from the attitudes and gestures of characters, from objects carried by them, or even from stage accessories might be given in support of this view, but these will be mentioned only when they are necessary in the identification of a figure. The number of characters shown in the miniatures illustrates the intimate knowledge of the text on the part of the artist. The number is almost always that required by the dialogue. In one place, however, the artist was in error. Before *Haut.* 2, 4 (v. 381), Clitipho is shown, though he is compelled by Syrus in v. 380 to leave the stage. The cause of the error is not apparent, but it might easily have arisen if the author of the miniatures found the *nota* of Clitipho written by mistake in the new scene.²

Before *Hec.* 5, 4 (v. 841), the figure of Pamphilus appears twice in the same picture.³ No parallel to this exists elsewhere in the miniatures. It has been suggested that the artist sometimes tried to show two stages of the action in one picture, a point which will be mentioned in another place.⁴ It will be shown later that, while there is no direct evidence against the genuineness of the picture in this place, there are some reasons for believing that it has not come down unchanged from the artist's hand.⁵ It has been believed that in two other places the artist represented a character twice in the same picture. The miniatures of *Hec.* 3, 4 (v. 415) show the figures of three slaves and the youth Pamphilus. According to the interpretation of Umpfenbach, the two slaves on the left are Parmeno and Sosia, the two characters on the right, Pamphilus and the same Parmeno.⁶ This view is not only unnecessary, but almost certainly wrong. In the period from the opening of the scene to the

¹ See p. 133 ff.

² A passage in the scene, v. 20 f., is not inappropriate to Clitipho, and, as has been done by Faber, may have been assigned to him by the artist.

³ About the miniature at this place in P, Umpfenbach had no information. Like those in the other MSS. it has four figures.

⁴ See p. 73.

⁵ See p. 161 f.

⁶ Cf. *ad loc.* ed. Ter.

sixteenth verse there are at least three slaves on the stage.¹ When Parmeno, in v. 430 of the play, accosts Pamphilus, he turns from the other slaves with whom he came upon the stage. The third slave is not named in the dialogue, but the artist rightly included him in the picture. A similar error, as it seems, has been made by Schlee in the interpretation of the miniatures before *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459).² The characters are divided into three groups of two figures each. There can be no doubt that the second figure of the second group represents Lesbia, the *obstetrix*. Schlee believed that she is shown also with Glycerium in the first group. If the figure with Glycerium must be identified, it is much more probably that of Archylis, who earlier in the play sends Mysis to summon the midwife.³ The fact that Lesbia, at her departure in the following scene, leaves Archylis in charge of Glycerium is in favor of this view. Yet it is never easy to distinguish between the figures of female characters.⁴ The appearance, therefore, of the figures in question is of little weight, but even in this respect the view here presented has quite as much to commend it as that of Schlee.

If the interpretation of the last two miniatures is correct, it is clear that the artist read the text of Terence carefully, in order to determine the number of characters active in each scene. This is further shown by the rest of the miniatures which contain mute characters. Including the two already mentioned, there are fourteen miniatures of this kind.⁵ In all of these, except that before *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459), the presence of mute characters is easily explained by the dialogue. In one instance, *Hec.* 4, 2 (v. 577), the scene before which the mute character is shown contains no evidence that this character is on the stage. It is only from the following scene that we learn of his presence. Even in the exception named above, there is no reason to object to the presence of a character with Glycerium that is not mentioned in the dialogue of this scene. The picture would have been less appropriate if Glycerium had

¹ Cf. vv. 359, 409, 429.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

³ v. 228.

⁴ Cf. p. 74.

⁵ The complete list is as follows: *And.* 1, 1 (v. 28); 1, 4 (v. 228); 3, 1 (v. 459); *Eun.* 2, 2 (v. 232); 3, 2 (v. 454); 3, 3 (v. 507); 3, 4 (v. 539); 4, 7 (v. 771); *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348); *Hec.* 3, 4 (v. 415); 4, 2 (v. 577); 5, 2 (v. 767); *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155); 3, 3, 10 (v. 364). *Eun.* 5, 4 (v. 923), as given in the MSS., cannot be included.

been represented as alone at this place.¹ If the figure with Glycerium is that of Archylis, we have another proof of the artist's thorough knowledge of this play. In every instance, therefore, where the artist has depicted the figures of mute characters, his action is justified by the text of Terence. In most cases, if he had failed to do this, his pictures would have been inadequate or even inappropriate.

It is not an invariable rule, however, that the figures of mute characters, known from the dialogue to have been on the stage, are shown in the miniatures. To determine precisely the number of such scenes is difficult, because the evidence is not always clear. It is certain that in six scenes mute characters participated in the action, though their figures do not appear in the pictures. We must suppose that several *ancillae*, said, in one place, perhaps in jest, to have been more than ten, come upon the stage in *Haut.* 2, 4 (v. 381).² Thais, when about to leave the stage, in *Eun.* 3, 2, 53 (v. 506), seems to direct two or more *ancillae* to follow her.³ In the same way Bacchis, in *Hec.* 5, 2 (v. 767), has two *ancillae* attending her who must have come with her upon the stage in the preceding scene (v. 727).⁴ In these four scenes the *ancillae* are mute characters throughout the plays in question.⁵ In two scenes characters are known to have been present without participation in the dialogue, though they speak in each case both in the preceding and in the following scene. In *Phorm.* 4, 2, 10 (v. 600), the words of Geta show that Demipho and Chremes are still on the stage. In *Ad.* 2, 3 (v. 254), Sannio must have remained on the stage, for in the last verse of the preceding scene he is ordered by Syrus to remain.

In three other places, under circumstances precisely similar to those in the last two scenes under discussion, there is some reason to think that characters remained on the stage without taking any part in the dialogue, though their figures are not shown in the miniatures. In each instance there is no sign of the departure of the character in question immediately before the new scene, or of his return immediately after it. Since the three scenes are all short, there is no reason to suppose that

¹ On the position of Glycerium with reference to the stage, see p. 76.

² Cf. vv. 245 f., 451, 744, 751. "

³ Dorias, one of the *ancillae*, returns to the stage in v. 615.

⁴ Cf. vv. 773 and 793.

⁵ Dorias, in *Eun.* 3, 2, 53 (v. 506), is later a speaking character.

the characters referred to left the stage, except the fact that their names do not appear in the scene-headings, or their figures in the miniatures. The text gives no direct evidence, but in one instance it does have some indication of the presence of one of these characters on the stage. In *Eun.* v. 726, Dorias seems still to have the jewelry mentioned by her in v. 627. If she had entered the house of Thais before 4, 2 (v. 629), it is not likely that she would have brought it out upon the stage again. For *Eun.* 5, 7 (v. 1025), there is even less evidence, but since only nine verses intervene between those in which Parmeno was a speaker, it is improbable that he left the stage during the short scene in which Gnatho and Thraso were the speakers. In the same way there is no reason to suppose that Syrus left the stage before *Ad.* 5, 6 (v. 889). If he did so, he must have entered the house of Micio and returned with Aeschinus in v. 899. Since Aeschinus is surprised at finding Demea on the stage, it is improbable that Syrus returned with Aeschinus, for he would scarcely have failed to mention Demea's kindness to him.

These reasons are apparently of little weight, but they give some indication that the characters named remained on the stage. The lack of evidence that they left the stage has greater weight. In the two scenes of the *Eunuchus*, Dziatzko believed that the characters were on the stage without participating in the dialogue, for he gives their names in the headings of the scenes. About the scene in the *Adelphoe* he is in doubt.¹ Fleckeisen added the name in the heading of this scene also in his first edition. In the second he omits all of them. Spengel does not mention the two scenes in the *Eunuchus*. About the scene in the *Adelphoe* he expresses some doubt, but inclines to the view that Syrus left the stage.² His grounds for this belief depend upon the Bembinus. Since this rightly has the name of Sannio in the heading before *Ad.* 2, 3 (v. 254), he regards the omission of Syrus' name in the heading before v. 889 as evidence that he did not remain on the stage. It will be shown later that the scene-headings of the Bembinus have no such independent value.

Three other scenes require some notice. It was pointed out above that, in *Hec.* 5, 1 (v. 727) and 5, 2 (v. 767), Bacchis was accompanied

¹ Cf. *adn. crit. ad loc. Praef. ed.* 1884, p. xl.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

by two *ancillae*. After v. 793 she enters the house of Phidippus with them. When she comes out, at v. 806, it is possible that in an actual performance she was still attended, and that the *ancillae* remained to the end of the play. There is nothing in the dialogue to indicate the presence of these characters, and they are not shown in the miniatures. The third scene referred to is *Ad.* 3, 3, 10 (v. 364). In this place Syrus addresses two characters who have no part in the dialogue. The language shows that both were assistants in the preparation of the dinner, and it is probable that they returned from market with Syrus. In spite of the fact that they are addressed in about the same manner, the figure of Dromo alone is shown.

The reasons for the omission of the mute characters in the miniatures of the scenes mentioned above are not always clear, but in some instances they can be shown. The doubt as to the presence of such characters in the last six scenes under discussion accounts satisfactorily for the omission. For in *Ad.* 3, 3, 10 (v. 364), it is exceedingly doubtful whether the duties of Dromo and Stephanio were performed on the stage.¹ In the last two scenes of the *Hecyra*, even if stage license would not permit the two *ancillae* of Bacchis to remain behind, when she leaves the house of Phidippus, the artist may be excused for availing himself of such a liberty. If they actually did return to the stage with Bacchis, the number of mute characters at first equalled, or exceeded that of the speaking characters, and there is little excuse for the long monologue of Bacchis, beginning in v. 816. Whatever the Romans permitted in an actual performance, it is certain that the artist in no case painted mute characters in excess of the speakers.²

In the remaining six places, where the presence of mute characters on the stage is certain, the omission of their figures in the pictures is more difficult to explain. It is worthy of note, however, that in four of these the mute characters are *ancillae*, the least important characters in a play. There may be some significance in this. Their presence is much more evident than in several other places where mute characters are shown. It is improbable, therefore, that the artist failed to see that in the scenes referred to they were active, though not speaking. More probably he purposely omitted them. In *Eun.* 3, 2

¹ See p. 128.

² See, however, p. 160, n. 1.

(v. 454), the omission can be accounted for otherwise. The *ancillae* addressed by Thais in the last verse of the scene were not on the stage at the time of the action represented in the miniatures. These show Parmeno presenting for Thais' inspection the eunuch and the Ethiopian slave, and must, therefore, be designed to illustrate v. 471 ff. The picture cannot be intended to show any of the action after v. 492, for it is at this point that Thais leads the eunuch and the Ethiopian woman into the house. From v. 581 it is nearly certain that the *ancillae* addressed by Thais in v. 506 did not appear on the stage until Thais' return in v. 499. Obviously, they could not be shown in a picture referring to an earlier part of the scene.¹

In the two places left, the omission is of characters that are mute only in these scenes. The artist could not have failed to recognize that they remained on the stage. If the omission is to be charged against him, it must be considered an error. It will be shown later that there are grounds for believing that the omission is not due to the artist, but to copyists.²

ORDER OF FIGURES IN THE MINIATURES

Since there is no instance of the omission of a speaking character in the miniatures, I turn to the consideration of the principle adopted by the artist in arranging the figures in the pictures. It is certain that he had no theories about the distribution of the houses in the rear of the stage. It is equally certain that he was ignorant of, or disregarded, the convention of the Greeks according to which characters from the forum and city entered from the right of the audience, those from the harbor or foreign parts, from the left.³ The principle of arrangement, in short, is precisely that found in the scene-headings. Wherever the dialogue does not demand, or at least suggest, some peculiar collocation of figures, these are shown in the order in which the characters they represent participate in the dialogue. In five scenes characters which have the same rôle, but do not enter the dialogue one immediately after

¹ It seems very doubtful whether Pythias was upon the stage before v. 45, but the artist assumed that she came with Thais at the opening of the scene.

² See p. 160.

³ Chiefly upon evidence drawn from Plautus and Terence, the authenticity of this tradition has been challenged by A. Müller, *Philologus*, LIX (1900), p. 9 ff.

the other, are shown together in the miniatures. In five other scenes of this kind the dialogue does not permit this arrangement, or at least it suggests another.¹ Even in this respect, therefore, the miniatures show the same tendency as the scene-headings. The characteristic arrangement of names and of figures is the same. Stated in precise terms, this is as follows: The names in the scene-headings and the figures in the miniatures are arranged at the beginning of a scene in the order of the first participation of the characters in the dialogue below, except that where two characters of the same rôle do not enter the dialogue in succession, these are united, and the group thus formed is given the place which the first of the characters to speak would naturally receive. This order of names in the scene-headings, or of figures in the miniatures, I shall call the usual or normal order.

In the miniatures, as in the scene-headings, instances are not infrequent where the usual order of characters is not found. It is almost certain that this cannot be charged to the carelessness of copyists, as has been done with the disorder in certain scene-headings. If the order of figures in the miniatures has been changed, it must have been designed, but there is little evidence of intentional changes.² The artist's motive for any deviation from his usual custom in the collocation of figures must be found in the subject-matter of the scenes where the deviation occurs. He tried to give a picture of the characters as he conceived them to be grouped at some interesting moment in the scene. Usually, there was nothing to deter him from grouping the characters according to the order in which they speak for the first time in the scene. In some places, however, he could not do this and give any reasonably correct picture of the action. In such scenes he abandoned his usual practice and distributed the characters to suit his interpretation of the text.

The order of characters depends frequently on the part of the scene selected by the artist for illustration. It is necessary, therefore, in the interpretation of some of the miniatures to determine the passage to which they refer. In scenes, however, which have a small number of

¹ On *Phorm.* 5, 3 (v. 784), see p. 151 f.

² In the Ambrosianus an example is probably found before *Eun.* 4, 7 (v. 771). See pp. 87 and 90; for other evidence of changes, see p. 158 ff.

characters, it frequently is difficult, or even impossible, to do this. In scenes where the number of characters is larger, this is not only possible, but usually it is very easy to do. In most scenes the limits of the passage to which the picture refers are rather narrow. Frequently the very verse which the artist had in mind is obvious. Even where the miniatures cannot be restricted to a single verse, every characteristic mark which they contain can usually be explained by the text in a connected passage of a small number of verses.

It is possible that in a few scenes the artist painted two stages of the action in a single picture. A stock example of such a miniature is that preserved before *Haut.* 1, 1 (v. 58).¹ Here Chremes is shown trying the weight of the *rastrum*, as he seems to do in v. 92 of the play. But an implement of the same nature is held by the figure of Menedemus, a situation which illustrates v. 88 f. If the repetition of the figure of Pamphilus before *Hec.* 5, 4 (v. 841) is to be ascribed to the artist, it can be explained only in this way.² That the artist frequently used this expedient I do not believe.³ If this had been his practice, his rule of never showing characters together who were not engaged on the stage at the same moment would have been needless.⁴ In most pictures the attitudes and gestures of all the figures are in such harmony that they clearly refer to a single passage.

With these premises I turn to the consideration of the miniatures that have a doubtful or an unusual order of figures. It seems advisable to do this, first, because for most miniatures of this kind the order of characters has never been determined; secondly, because the determination of the order of characters is preliminary to any comparison of this order with that of names in the scene-headings. The attempt will be made in each case to point out the part, or parts, of the scene

¹ The Vatican miniature before this scene was taken from D'Agincourt by Wieseler, *Theatergebäude u. Denkm. des Bühnenwes. bei den Griech. u. Röm.* Taf. X, 6. It is reproduced also by Schreiber, *Kulturhistorisch. Bilderatlas*, Taf. III, 6. In the English edition, edited by Anderson with the title *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, it is given in Pl. III, Fig. 6.

² See p. 161 f.

³ Nearly certain examples are found in the pictures before *And.* 3, 2 (v. 481); cf. p. 77; *Haut.* 5, 2 (v. 954); cf. p. 83.

⁴ Cf. p. 134 ff.

chosen by the artist for illustration, the correct order in which the figures are painted, and, in case these are not arranged in the usual manner, the reasons for the deviation. No notice will be taken of scenes where the customary collocation of figures is found, and the identification of the characters is reasonably certain. It has already been shown by Schlee that the names assigned the characters in the miniatures have little authority.¹ This is especially true in scenes where the order of figures is uncertain or unusual. The order of names will be given for the several MSS., partly because the critical apparatus of Umpfenbach's edition is inadequate for this, and in part for later reference in trying to determine the source and the history of the scene-headings in these MSS.²

The identification of the figures in the miniatures is in some places exceedingly difficult. A good example of such difficulty is found in the pictures before *Eun.* 4, 7 (v. 771), which have been interpreted in three different ways by modern scholars. It must be understood at the outset, therefore, that a positive identification of the figures is sometimes impossible. This is particularly true of miniatures which have two or more characters of the same rôle. Nor is it easy to distinguish between two female characters in a picture, unless there is a difference in their dress, as between a free woman and an *ancilla*. In some pictures also there is little difference in the appearance of free women and young men.³ In miniatures containing characters so easily confused, the patience of the copyists was sorely tried, and their errors are numerous. In the discussion of such miniatures these characters have been classed as doubtful, unless reasonably clear signs exist by which the identification can be made. In the case of characters wearing masks, it is obvious that there is little room for differences of expression or play of features. Nevertheless, there are many ways in which characters easily confused, because of their similar appearance, can be distinguished. The artist's conception is frequently shown by the attitudes or gestures of figures, by their dress, or by objects carried by them. When characters are newly come upon the stage from one of the houses in the rear, they are

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 6 f.

² Cf. p. 163 ff.

³ Cf. the pictures before *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459); *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723); 5, 5 (v. 1045).

identified by their proximity to doors shown in the picture. Frequently they can be identified by their proximity to other characters who are known, and with whom they are closely associated. In some places, however, there is nothing to indicate the identity of the figures. This is especially true of scenes in which the characters are two *senes*.

After these introductory remarks on the identification of figures in the miniatures, the scenes, in which the order of characters is unusual or in doubt, will be considered. Beginning with the *Andria*, such scenes will be given in the order of plays in the text edition of Dziatzko and the second edition of Fleckeisen.

And. 2, 1 (v. 301). The miniatures illustrate the opening of the scene. Charinus and Byrria are shown on the left with their arms about each other. Byrria is trying to console the dejected youth. Since they do not see Pamphilus before the tenth verse of the scene, it is obvious that the figures of the young men could not be shown together in the usual way. The names are correctly assigned in O, P, but in C the names by the first hand were written in the usual order, thus bringing the names of the youths together in the heading. This error of assignment has been later corrected by some one, who, without erasing the original names, interchanged those of Pamphilus and Byrria, writing the new names above the old ones.

And. 2, 2 (v. 338). The miniatures refer to the beginning of the scene, but there is no satisfactory evidence by which to identify the figures of the two young men on the right. If Charinus is the figure nearer Davus, the characters are in the usual order. If Pamphilus has this position, the collocation is unusual. In C, O, P the names are assigned in the latter order, but there is nothing in either the miniatures or the dialogue that seems to require it.

And. 2, 5 (v. 412). The passage selected for illustration is v. 7 ff. of the scene. About the first figure on the left, Umpfenbach labored under a misapprehension, for he supposed that it represented Davus. Aside from the fact that there is nothing in the appearance of the figures to support this view, the third verse of the scene caused the artist to show Byrria, not Davus, following Simo. Though Byrria and Simo are the first characters to speak in this scene, the figure of Davus is neither contiguous to that of Byrria, as a character of the same rôle, nor is it third in order as that of the third speaker in the scene. The

artist deviated from his usual custom and painted Pamphilus as the third character, and Davus last of all. The reason for this is evidently because Davus, without the knowledge of Simo, gives advice and encouragement to Pamphilus in the meeting with his father. The names are correctly assigned in C, O, P, but in C they are not by the usual hand, and the first name is written over an erasure. They are probably to be ascribed to the hand which made nearly all the corrections elsewhere in the assignment of names in this ms.

And. 2, 6 (v. 432). The miniatures cannot be referred with certainty to any definite part of the scene. The two figures are shown in the reverse of the usual order. In scenes of only two speakers this order cannot be explained by the dialogue. It seems probable that in this place the artist has retained from the previous scene the relative positions of Simo and Davus. In C, O, P the assignment of names is correct, but in C this is due to the usual corrector. The names were written by the first hand in the normal order. The corrector erased them imperfectly and reversed the order.

And. 3, 1 (v. 459).¹ The miniatures cannot be intended to show the stage action at any point after the ninth verse of the scene, for it is here that Mysis and Lesbia enter the house. They seem best suited to v. 6 ff. Of the three groups of characters, Glycerium and the mute character, probably Archylis, on the extreme left and within the house, have already been mentioned.² The remaining four characters are on the stage. Mysis and Lesbia, who are respectively the first and the fourth speaker of the scene, come upon the stage in conversation, and enter the house without seeing Simo and Davus. They are properly, therefore, shown together in the pictures. On the right, Davus and Simo are correctly shown together, but the artist hardly depended upon the text in fixing the position of Davus. He does not speak in the scene until after Simo does, and his remarks to Simo are of the briefest possible nature, but he is between Simo and the women, and appears to be trying to secure the attention of his master, in order to prevent his hearing the words of Mysis.

¹ A photographic reproduction of this miniature in C is given by Beissel, *Vatikanische Miniaturen*.

² See p. 67.

The Dunelmensis MS. has lost this miniature with some of the text. In P no names are assigned the figures, although some later person has written five names below the figures, with no attempt to assign them to the characters. In C six names are found, none of them, except probably that of Mysis, by the usual hand. The rest were added by the corrector after he had erased the original names. Schlee was certainly misinformed when he attributed the names at this place to the usual hand.¹ The assignment of the name Pamphilus to the figure of Lesbia was a stupid blunder on the part of the corrector, especially since there is no young man on the stage in this scene. In the miniatures, however, the figures of free women are very similar in appearance to those of young men. The error, therefore, was easily made by a person who paid no regard to the text. The assignment of the name Lesbia to the figure supporting Glycerium is equally without authority.

And. 3, 2 (v. 481). In this place it is almost certain that the miniatures illustrate two widely separated portions of the scene. The figure of Lesbia appears on the left at the door of Glycerium. Since Lesbia does not speak after the eighth verse of the scene, and leaves the stage at this point, we must suppose that this part of the picture refers only to the opening verses. The gestures of Davus, however, indicate that he is talking to Simo about Glycerium and her friends, for he is clearly referring to Glycerium's house. It is highly probable, therefore, that the figures of Davus and Simo are intended to show the action in v. 31 ff. of the scene. The gestures of Davus, toward the door of Glycerium's house, explain why he is shown second in the picture instead of last, as he would have been in the normal order. The names are correctly assigned in C, O, P.

And. 3, 3 (v. 533). There is little in the appearance of the two *senes* by which to identify them, or to determine the part of the scene to which the miniatures refer. If they are designed to illustrate the first three verses of the scene, Chremes is probably the first figure on the left, but if they are intended to show the action after the fifth verse, this figure is more probably that of Simo. According to the manner in which the scenes are divided at this place, Simo is the first speaker, but

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

the place of scene-division is very unusual. Reference will be made to this later, when the distribution of the miniatures is under consideration.¹ In C, O, P the names are assigned to the figures in the usual order, the name of Simo being first.

And. 3, 4 (v. 580). The passage chosen for illustration is not easily determined, but it is probably early in the scene. Davus is the first figure on the left, but the two *senes* are in the reverse of the usual order. Since Davus and Chremes at no place in the scene address each other, the third figure, shown in conversation with Davus, must represent Simo, though this character is the second in the scene to speak. For this deviation from the usual arrangement the dialogue gives no reason. It must be ascribed to the fancy of the artist. In C, O, P the names are assigned in the regular order and are, therefore, wrong for the last two figures. In P they are by a later hand, since in this scene no names were written by the usual hand. The peculiar grouping of the names and rôles, together with the use of *duo* instead of *ii*, proves that this heading was taken from a manuscript of the δ family.² It is not probable that the person who added this heading made any attempt to assign the names to the figures.³

And. 5, 3 (v. 872). The miniatures illustrate the first verse of the scene. Simo, with extended right arm and pointing forefinger, is shown addressing Pamphilus, while Chremes is between the father and son, and has his arm around Simo, in an evident attempt to restrain the anger of the latter. This explains the unusual order of the two *senes* on the right. Pamphilus is shown first on the left, according to the usual rule. In C, O, P the names are assigned to the figures in the usual order, and are wrong, therefore, for the last two.

And. 5, 4 (v. 904). The pictures refer to some point early in the scene. Pamphilus and Crito are shown on the left, coming from the house of Glycerium. Since Crito, the first speaker, has come at the request of Pamphilus, the fourth speaker, and addresses him in the first two verses of the scene, it is obvious that the usual arrangement of the figures was impossible. By painting Pamphilus first on the left, with Crito second, the author of the miniatures has suggested the relative

¹ See p. 135.

² Cf. p. 165 f.

³ Cf. *And.* 5, 4 (v. 904).

order of these characters in an actual performance of the play. Since Crito is shown in conversation with the fourth figure, and the latter is represented with right arm extended toward Crito in a strong gesture, it is very probable that the fourth figure is that of Simo. If this identification is correct, the miniatures are intended to illustrate the fifth verse of the scene. The position of Chremes between the other two *senes*, as well as his gesture towards Simo, is perfectly natural, for it is Chremes who makes Crito and Simo known to each other.

The copyists were uncertain about the assignment of names in this place, for no names were written by the first hands in C, P. In the former, the names now found with the miniature are all by the hand to which most of the corrections in the assignment of names are due. The assignment is right, except that the figures of Chremes and Simo have their names interchanged. In P two headings are found, both probably by later hands. One of these, certainly to be ascribed to a later hand, has no reference to the order of figures, but presents the names in the normal order. This heading was taken from some representative of the δ family, as is shown by the use of *tres* rather than *iii*, and by the peculiar arrangement of the names and the rôles of characters.¹ The other heading, not given by Umpfenbach, has the names abbreviated and arranged as follows:

PAM.	CRI.	CRE.	SIM.
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These names are correctly assigned to the figures. It is possible that they were written by the same hand as the names in other scenes, but this is doubtful. The brownish red of the ink differs from the bright red used by the regular rubricator. More probably some later hand, here as in some other places, has supplied the names, and, in so doing, has imitated the form of letters written by the usual hand. In O the names are not abbreviated, nor are they due to a later hand, but they are rightly assigned as in P.

Haut. 2, 3 (v. 242). The miniatures are designed to show the stage action at the opening of the scene, for Dromo, who leaves the stage in the ninth verse of the scene, is one of the characters. The two figures of slaves on the left can be distinguished only by their gestures. Since

¹ Cf. p. 165 f.

the first appears to be giving instructions to the second, it is highly probable that these figures represent Syrus and Dromo, and are in the normal collocation. The two young men on the right are shown by their attitudes to be in the reverse of the usual order. The reason for this is evident. Clinia is shown nearer the slaves, since he is more interested than Clitipho in the result of the errand from which the slaves are returning. In C, O, P the names are correctly assigned to the figures, but in F the normal order is found. For the figures of the young men, therefore, the assignment is wrong.

Haut. 3, 1 (v. 410). The only evidence available in the identification of the figures is found in the gestures. This seems so uncertain, however, that I see no means of assigning the names with any degree of probability. In the four mss. the names of the old men are in the usual order, but in P they are written in such a way as to suggest that the rubricator avoided any assignment of the names to the figures.

Haut. 4, 1 (v. 614). The miniatures show the *nutrix*, who leaves the stage after the fifth verse, and must be referred, therefore, to the opening of the scene. The two female characters are on the left, the two male characters on the right. Since Chremes is the second speaker, and the *nutrix* the third, the picture shows a violation of the usual order. The cause is obvious. The two women enter engaged in conversation, and Sostrata does not see her husband until in the ninth verse. Chremes and Syrus in the meantime have been discussing the actions of the two women. In C, F, O, P the names are correctly assigned to the figures.

Haut. 4, 4 (v. 723). The five characters are shown in two groups, Bacchis, Phrygia, and Clinia on the left, Dromo and Syrus on the right. The first group of characters enters the house of Menedemus at v. 21 of the scene, or immediately after it, and it is at this point that Dromo is called out of the same house. The pictures, therefore, must be referred to this verse. If the figures were arranged in the usual order, this would be as follows: Bacchis, Clinia, Syrus, Dromo, Phrygia. Syrus and Dromo would be shown together, because they have the same rôle, though Phrygia is the fourth to speak in the scene, Dromo the fifth. The action of the artist in giving Phrygia a place with the first group is due, no doubt, not only to the fact that she is the slave-woman and attendant of Bacchis, but also to the fact that she is naturally one of the group

that is about to leave the stage. Bacchis and Phrygia are represented by the first two figures on the left, but there is little to distinguish between them. The gestures seem more appropriate if the first figure is that of Bacchis. Clinia is third in order. The two slaves are shown together, but they are in the reverse of the usual order, Syrus being last on the right.

Copyists found the identification of the characters in this scene very difficult. In O, P, however, if the two female figures are correctly distinguished above, the names are rightly assigned. In F, not only the names of Bacchis and Phrygia, but also those of the two slaves are interchanged; while the figure of Clinia is not named at all. In C the third and fifth names are written over an erasure by the usual corrector. That they have been interchanged admits of no doubt. Above the fourth figure the name and numeral DROMO II are found, and show that the name of Syrus, the other slave, was at first assigned to the third figure. It is all but certain, therefore, that the normal order of names was written by the copyist. This assignment was incorrect, except for the first figure. The name of Clinia was given to a female character, and in all probability the name of Phrygia was given to the figure of Davus. The corrector, noting part of the error, attempted to remedy it by interchanging the third and fifth names, each with the rôle appropriate to it. The result is that the figures of the slaves are correctly named, but Clinia is given the name of the slave-girl. The corrector did not notice, apparently, the incongruity either in this assignment or in that of the name of Clinia by the first hand to the second female figure. The errors of both the copyist and the corrector in this scene show how little weight should be given to the assignment of names in this manuscript.

Haut. 4, 7 (v. 829). The pictures illustrate the third verse of the scene. Chremes, the first speaker, is the first figure on the left. The other two characters are in an unusual collocation, Clitipho being the second, Syrus the third figure. Clitipho seems to be hesitating to take the money offered by Chremes, but Syrus has his hand on the young man's shoulder and urges him on. The dialogue shows that Syrus was in such a position that he could speak to Clitipho without Chremes' knowledge. It is for this reason that he is shown behind Clitipho, instead of between the other two characters.

In C, F, O the names are correctly assigned to the figures, but in C the last two names are due to a correction and stand over an erasure. Though there is no direct evidence, there is little doubt that the names assigned to the last two figures by the copyist have been interchanged.¹ If this supposition is true, the names were written at first in the normal order. In P no names were written by the usual hand, but they have been inserted by some one else and are in the usual order. They are inappropriate to the last two figures, but it is doubtful if any assignment of names was attempted.

Haut. 4, 8 (v. 842). The only evidence upon which any identification of the two figures can be made is the nature of the gestures. That of the first seems to be one of appeal, of the second, either protest or admonition. I am inclined to prefer the latter interpretation, and to refer the action to v. 20 f., where Chremes warns Menedemus against being too complaisant toward his son. If this interpretation of the gestures is correct, Menedemus is first on the left, and the two *senes* are in the usual order. The names are assigned to the figures in this order in the manuscripts.

Haut. 5, 1 (v. 874). The illustrated mss. do not agree in the division of scenes at this place and before v. 954. F, O, P have four figures in the first of these two scenes,² but have no miniatures for the second. C has a picture for each scene, the first with two figures, the second with four. Since there are good reasons for believing that this ms. represents the true tradition,³ the miniatures in F, O, P will be disregarded in discussing this place. In C the same two characters are presented as in the scene last under discussion, and the gestures are again about the only means of identifying them. The evidence is far from clear, however, and does not seem to warrant any conclusion. I am inclined to believe that the more violent gesture of the second figure points to the deep feeling of Chremes, as expressed in vv. 42-75. It seems best, however, not to hazard any identification of the characters in this picture. If the second figure could be shown to be that of

¹ Schlee, *op. cit.*, p. 7, assigns the names in C to a later hand, but this is an error. Two of the three names written by the copyist have been changed.

² Schlee, *op. cit.*, p. 7, wrongly states that F, P have but two figures at this place.

³ Cf. p. 141.

Chremes, the order of the two figures would be normal. The names in C are assigned in this order, and the same is true of the names of these two characters in F, O, P, in which the pictures at this place have probably suffered little change, except the addition of two more figures.

Haut. 5, 2 (v. 954). The picture at this place deserves special mention, both because it is extant only in C, and because it affords an almost certain example of two stages of a scene illustrated in a single picture. The characters, in the usual order, are shown in two groups. On the left, Clitipho and Menedemus are conversing as they do only in the first seven verses of the scene. On the right, Chremes and Syrus are engaged in conversation. Since they nowhere address each other except in vv. 20-25, and since the action portrayed is manifestly appropriate to this passage, this part of the picture cannot present the action at the same point of time as the first part. The artist was led to paint the picture in this way, doubtless because Menedemus does not speak after the seventh verse, nor Syrus before the seventeenth verse of the scene.

Haut. 5, 5 (v. 1045). The miniatures illustrate the first half of the scene, where Chremes is the object of the arguments and entreaties of the other three characters. The gestures and attitudes show with certainty that the two *senes* on the left are painted in the usual order. The two characters on the right are Clitipho and his mother, Sostrata. Though they play rôles so dissimilar, the figures representing them have a striking similarity. The third figure seems to be that of Sostrata, so that Clitipho is last on the right. This identification rests entirely upon differences in the dress of the two figures. The dress of the third is somewhat longer than that of the others, and the right fore-arm is not covered, but bare, both of which are frequent signs of female characters in the miniatures. If this identification is correct, the figures are painted in the usual order, and the assignment of names in the MSS. is correct.

Eun. 3, 2 (v. 454). The artist chose for the picture the dramatic moment when Chaerea, disguised as the eunuch, is presented by Parmeno to Bacchis (v. 19 ff.). In this scene, more almost than in any other, he was forced to disregard the order in which characters participate in the dialogue. The normal order of the five speaking

characters would have been as follows: Thais, Thraso, Parmeno, Gnatho, Pythias. The picture would not have been appropriate if Parmeno, in his moment of triumph over Thraso and Gnatho, had been shown between these characters. The presentation scene demanded room for Parmeno and his presents, and that neither Thraso nor Gnatho should be in a position to intervene. The artist solved the problem by painting Gnatho first on the left, then Thraso next to Thais, who is in the third position. Chaerea naturally appears next, followed by Parmeno, who is leading the second mute character, the Ethiopian slave-girl. The only figure painted in the usual position is that of Pythias on the extreme right. The picture, with this collocation of the characters, is entirely appropriate to illustrate the passage named.

The peculiar order of figures seems to have puzzled the copyists, who in C, P assigned no names, this having been done by later hands. In C the assignment is correct, except that to Chaerea, in his disguise as eunuch, the name Antipho was given, though there is no character of this name in the play. The error was noticed still later by some one, who corrected it by superscribing the words *CHEREA pro EVNVCHO*. The same hand may have erased the name or the rôle written, probably by the first corrector, above the figure of the Ethiopian slave. In P the same hand that we have noticed before,¹ either the first hand at a later period, or more probably a later hand imitating the first, has written abbreviations of the correct names. The order is right, save that the names of Parmeno and Chaerea are interchanged. In O the names of the speaking characters only are found. They are in the correct order of the figures. In F, according to Umpfenbach, a space is found with no picture, but with names by a later hand. It is certain that a picture was painted as usual at this place, but it is nearly hidden by the insertion of a piece of parchment. On the right there is still visible part of a doorway with part of the head of a figure, very much as Pythias is shown in the rest of the MSS. As to any names of characters at this place I have no information.

Eun. 3, 5 (v. 549). Antipho and Chaerea, the latter still in the dress of the eunuch, are shown on the stage in the order of these names. The reversal of the usual arrangement is to be explained, not

¹ Cf. p. 79 on *And.* 5, 4 (v. 904).

by the dialogue, but by the miniatures of the preceding scene. Before v. 539 the same two characters are pictured in the same order. In that scene Chaerea is a mute character. That he was upon the stage during part of the scene is shown by v. 545 ff. The interval of time between the two passages, selected by the artist for illustration, is so brief that he felt obliged to retain the same order of figures for the second scene. In C the usual order of names was written at first, but this has been corrected by a later hand. The copyist may have merely reproduced the order of names before v. 539, where they were originally incorrectly assigned in an unusual order, but were later changed by the same corrector. In P the name of Antipho alone, rightly assigned to the first figure, is given in each scene. The same is true of O before v. 539. In the second scene the names are wrongly assigned in the usual order. Since they are written in black ink in this place, the error is probably to be ascribed to a corrector. In F alone the names are rightly assigned in both scenes.

Eun. 4, 3 (v. 643). There is nothing to show clearly the part of the scene to which the pictures refer. These are unusual, since the two *ancillae* are not shown together, though there is nothing in the dialogue that seems opposed to the usual arrangement. The miniatures are peculiar in another respect. The attitudes of the figures show that the first is that of Dorias, while the third represents Pythias. The three figures are pictured in exactly the reverse of the order in which they severally speak for the first time in the scene. In the mss. the names of the *ancillae* are wrongly assigned, and are in part in the usual order. In C this is due to a correction, for the normal order of names was written by the copyist, thus incorrectly assigning the names to all the figures. The corrector imperfectly erased the last two names with the accompanying rôles, and interchanged them.

Eun. 4, 4 (v. 668). The artist selected the first verse of the scene for his illustration. The words of Phaedria show that the eunuch, Dorus, is unwilling to come out of the house upon the stage. The artist was unable, therefore, to picture Phaedria first on the left. This position he gave to the eunuch, who is seen within the door, while Phaedria is shown in the second place, immediately outside the door. The identification of the two *ancillae* is uncertain. Disregarding these two characters, F is the only manuscript that has the names of Dorus

and Phaedria correctly assigned.¹ In C, O, P the names are in the normal order, and, as Umpfenbach noted, are wrongly assigned to the first two figures.

Eun. 4, 7 (v. 771). The Vatican miniature, preserved at the head of this scene, has several times been reproduced. First published by D'Agincourt, it has appeared successively among the illustrations of the ancient theatre, given by Wieseler,² Baumeister,³ and Schreiber. Partly for this reason, partly because the identification of the figures is difficult, this picture, more than any other, has aroused discussion.

The dialogue shows that eight characters are active on the stage, all of whom are pictured in the miniatures. The five speakers appear in the dialogue in the following order: Thraso, Gnatho, Sanga, Chremes, Thais. The first three come with the three mute characters to storm the house of Thais, who with Chremes awaits the attack. Thais is not the last figure on the right, but is between the attacking party and the young man. The artist's reason for giving this unusual order is found in the closing verses of the previous scene, where the timidity of Chremes is such as to cause Thais to exclaim that her defender was himself in need of a protector.

As regards the identification of the first six figures, opinions have varied widely. Wieseler was the first scholar in modern times who seriously attempted the task.⁴ To the figures in the attacking party he assigned names in the following order: Syrisus, Sanga, Thraso, Donax, Simalio, Gnatho. The correctness of this assignment was challenged by Leo, who believed that the first two figures represent Simalio and Syrisus, the fifth, Sanga.⁵ The difference in Wieseler's and Leo's conclusions rests upon their disagreement in the identification of objects carried by the second and fifth figures. The first of these, with uplifted right arm, has in his hand an object somewhat oval in shape.⁶ The fifth carries in his left hand a light club, apparently, to the end of which some

¹ Instead of the name of Dorus his rôle is given.

² For the references to Wieseler (Taf. X, 5), and Schreiber (Taf. III, 5), see p. 73.

³ *Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums*, II, p. 831. Abb. 914.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 65 ff. Cocquelines, however, had changed, in part correctly, the assignment which he found for five figures in C.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 339 f.

⁶ Such is its appearance in the reproduction of the Vatican miniature by D'Agincourt.

flexible material is attached. The object in the hand of the second figure was regarded by Wieseler as the *peniculus*, which is carried by Sanga, as the seventh verse of the scene shows. Rejecting this interpretation, Leo held that the object carried by the fifth figure is the *peniculus*. Wieseler explained the object in the hand of this figure as a lash or scourge, while Leo thought that the second figure is represented as hurling a stone. The dialogue shows clearly that Sanga brings a *peniculus*, but it gives no evidence that either a lash or a stone was carried by any of the characters. From the language of the fifth verse, where Syrus and Simalio are ordered to take positions on the right and left wings respectively, Wieseler named the first figure Syrus, the fifth Simalio. Leo paid no regard to this evidence and was unable to distinguish between the first two figures. Wieseler's interpretation was adopted by Arnold,¹ but Bernhardt and Anderson have followed Leo.²

A somewhat different assignment of names has recently been proposed by Dr. Basore, who suggests that the first figure is that of Gnatho, the sixth representing Syrus.³ This assignment, save in the interchange of names between the first and the sixth figure, agrees with that of Wieseler. For the Vatican miniature, at least, I do not believe that it is correct. The dress of the sixth figure is that of a citizen, while the first in this respect closely resembles the fourth and fifth, of which one, at least, represents a mute character. It is possible that copyists have altered the appearance of the figures. As an example of this, Leo points to the attitude of the sixth figure in this place, which is painted as if facing the attacking party, and apparently belongs on the side of Thais and Chremes. Basore does not object to this attitude, but shows that in the miniatures for this scene the attitudes and gestures, and in the Ambrosianus, the order of two characters have marked differences. It does not appear, however, that this is true of the first and sixth figures except in the gestures. The attitude and dress of these two in the several pictures are in close agreement. The attitude of the

¹ Cf. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, etc., II, p. 831 ff. Later, writing on *Schauspieler und Schauspielerkunst*, III, p. 1580, Arnold refers to Leo's discussion with no further expression of opinion.

² Bernhardt, *Textbuch zu Th. Schreiber's Kulturhist. Bilderatlas*, p. 41; Anderson, Schreiber's *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, p. 6.

³ *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, p. 283 f.

sixth can be explained by the dialogue. The dress of both characters is strongly opposed to Basore's assignment.

These are the conflicting views about the miniatures at this place. The correct explanation, in my opinion, was given by Wieseler. Leo and Basore did not, indeed, disregard the evidence of the text, but they failed to appreciate its value in the interpretation. The discussion of the miniatures in this investigation shows with certainty that the artist had studied the several plays with the greatest care. The text, therefore, of the several scenes is the basis upon which any adequate interpretation of the miniatures must rest. In view of the artists' faithfulness to the text in other scenes, it cannot lightly be assumed that he disregarded it in this place.

The correct interpretation of the miniatures, in part that of Wieseler, in part based on other evidence, is believed to be as follows: The passage in vv. 11-15 of the scene was chosen by the artist for illustration. Syrius is shown first on the left because he is ordered by Thraso in the fifth verse to proceed to the right wing. From the point of view of Thraso this is the position he holds. He is shown with no weapon, because none is mentioned in the text. The second character represents Sanga with the sponge ready to wipe away the blood of the wounded. The shortness of his dress, which in this respect resembles that of the captain himself, is explained by Thraso's calling him a centurion. The third figure is Thraso, who is, as he himself states in v. 11, *post principia*. The fourth is Donax with the crowbar. His position in F is fifth, but this is probably a change by a copyist. In the fourth verse he is ordered by Thraso *in medium agmen*, and this is appropriate to the fourth rather than to the fifth place. The fifth figure in C, O, P is Simalio, who is ordered by Thraso in the fifth verse to take his position on the left wing. From the point of view of Thraso, this is his position. In representing him as a *lorarius* with a lash, the artist drew upon his imagination. Any explanation of the object carried by him as a *peniculus* is open to several objections. The artist would have been stupid indeed, if he had painted at the head of the little band a character armed with a sponge or even a whisk.¹

¹ Leo does not give a German equivalent for the noun *peniculus*. Those who follow him in believing that the *peniculus* is carried by the fifth figure, explain this as a *Borstwisch* (Bernhardi), or whisk (Anderson and Basore).

Though the object in question differs somewhat in appearance in the miniatures, it seems rather unsuited to the purpose for which Sanga brings the *peniculus*. Lastly, even if the object does resemble a whisk, it is not clear that a whisk is appropriate for wiping blood away from a wound. Terence may have used the word in this meaning to heighten the comic effect, but the artist was not obliged to interpret it so. For these reasons I hold that the fifth figure is Simalio, whom the artist was pleased to regard as Thraso's *lorarius*. Gnatho is the sixth of the attacking party. His position is explained by v. 111, where some one who is not named is directed by Thraso to array part of the little army. The artist thought that the person addressed was Gnatho, and he was probably right. In the mss. the speaker after Thraso is Gnatho, and in the Bembinus the same character precedes Thraso in the tenth verse. The rest of the mss. give the *nota* of Sanga in this verse.¹ Whatever the correct distribution of the dialogue may be, it seems rather unnatural to suppose that Thraso orders Sanga with the *peniculus* to command the left wing. These words are more probably addressed to Gnatho and were so understood by the artist. The attitude of Gnatho, if this assignment is correct, is perfectly natural. He is turned facing Donax and Simalio whom he has been directed to command. The fact that in P he seizes, with his right hand, the object carried by Simalio is doubtless due to a copyist. For such an action no reasonable ground can be given. In C his hand is raised in a gesture of command, which is in every respect appropriate to his office. His proximity to Thais and Chremes in C, O, P is due to a change by a copyist. In F a door is shown between Gnatho and the last two figures, and they are not in close proximity, for Thais and Chremes are shown, not on the stage at all, but in the house.² The door was omitted by a copyist probably in order to reduce the width of the picture. If this is true, Leo's objection to the attitude of Gnatho has no basis of fact. It is the strongest evidence that the copyist, in spite of other changes, kept the attitude of Gnatho true to the original.

The copyists were subjected to the same doubts and difficulties as modern scholars in assigning names to the figures. In all the mss. the

¹ In F, however, the *nota* SA is written over an erasure by a corrector. The assignment in this ms. was probably to Gnatho.

² Cf. Basore, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

names were written by the usual hands, and have not been subject to correction in order. In all of them the names are correctly assigned to the figures of Thais and Chremes. In C none of the rest of the figures are rightly named, and in F, which has the positions of Donax and Simalio interchanged, these figures alone have the correct names. In both MSS. the names of Thraso and Gnatho, the first two speakers in the scene, are given to the first two figures. In F the name of Sanga, the third to speak, is intended for the third figure, though it is not written in the space above this figure. In C this name is given to Gnatho in sixth place. In both MSS., therefore, the first three names of speakers are in the usual order. In C the names of the mute characters, Donax, Simalio, and Syrisus, follow in succession in the third, fourth, and fifth places, and are designed for the figures denoted by these numbers, though the exigencies of space prevented the copyist from keeping the names in proximity to the figures. In F, Gnatho is given the name of Syrisus.

In O, P, as frequently occurs, the assignment is more carefully made. In both MSS. the names are in the precise order suggested by Basore for the order of figures. If the interpretation of the miniatures given above is correct, this assignment is right except for the interchange between the first and sixth figures.

Eun. 5, 8 (v. 1031). The pictures seem best suited to illustrate some point early in the scene. Chaerea and Parmeno are shown in the usual order on the left, the former in exultation over his good fortune. Thraso is pictured in the third figure, Gnatho in the fourth. Measured by the distribution of the dialogue in the Bembinus and the most of the later MSS., these characters are in the reverse of the usual order. There is nothing in the text that suggests such an arrangement, nor can it be explained by the order in the previous scene, for there Gnatho is first on the left. The explanation is found, as Umpfenbach saw to be true of the order of names in the Bembine heading at this place, in a different assignment of the dialogue in the seventh verse of the scene, the first in which either Gnatho or Thraso speaks. The Vaticanus (C) has the *nota* of Thraso written by the regular hand.¹ The

¹ Since Umpfenbach says nothing about C in this place, he implies that the *nota* of Gnatho is given, but he is in error.

same is true of the Parisinus (P), but above the *nota* of Thraso a later hand has superscribed the *nota* of Gnatho. The Ambrosianus (F) has the *nota* of Gnatho, but it is written over an erasure. The archetype of the illustrated mss. made Thraso the first of these two characters to speak. If the collocation of figures could be accounted for in any other way, this variation would have little weight. There can be little doubt that Thraso is shown third in the miniatures because the artist found that in his manuscript Thraso was the third speaker. The names are correctly assigned in the manuscripts.

Eun. 5, 9 (v. 1049). The miniatures are designed to show the stage action at some point after v. 20 (v. 1068 of the play). Gnatho is pictured between Thraso and the young men, and he is plainly addressing the latter with respect to Thraso. His position before Thraso, contrary to the order in which they speak in this scene, is explained by v. 20, where, entreated by the soldier to intercede in his behalf, he bids the latter withdraw a little way. Any distinction between the figures of the young men on the left is difficult, but the attitude of the first figure, which is half turned away from the rest of the party, suggests Phaedria, for he does not readily make any concessions to Thraso. Furthermore, it is Chaerea, rather than Phaedria, who not only is willing to hear Gnatho's plea, but also assists him in the negotiations. The second position, therefore, seems best suited to Chaerea. If this explanation of the attitude and position of the two young men is correct, they are shown in the usual order. In the mss. the names are correctly associated with the figures, but the last two in C are due to the usual corrector. Since these names are written over an erasure, it is highly probable that their position has been interchanged. If such is the case, the copyist of C wrote the names in the normal order.

Phorm. 1, 4 (v. 179). The miniatures refer most probably to v. 20 of the scene, where Geta reports that he has just seen Antipho's father at the harbor. Except in their gestures there is little difference in the appearance of the two young men. The gesture of the first is rather one of command, and is suited to Antipho's order in the verse named. Moreover, Antipho, more deeply than Phaedria, is concerned with the news brought by Geta, and more appropriately would have the position next to the slave. Antipho, then, is probably represented by the second of the three figures, Phaedria by the last. This is the order

in which they speak for the first time in the scene, and in which the names are assigned in the MSS.

Phorm. 2, 1 (v. 231). The pictures are intended to illustrate v. 56 ff. of the scene, where Demipho for the first time addresses Geta. If the usual order of figures had been given, Geta would be shown between Demipho and Phaedria. His position behind Phaedria is easily explained by the text. At the close of the previous scene, Geta directs Phaedria to accost Demipho, while he himself remains in ambush ready to go to his aid. Until the very verse in which he addresses Demipho, Geta is in such a position that he can speak to Phaedria, or utter comments aside, without attracting Demipho's attention. In the MSS. the assignment of names is correct, but in C this is in part due to the usual corrector. Since the last two names are written over an erasure, it is nearly certain that the normal order of names was written by the copyist.

Phorm. 2, 3 (v. 348). The passage selected for illustration depends upon the identification of the first and third figures. These have always been believed to represent respectively Demipho and Phormio, but that this view is correct I do not believe. From the appearance of the two figures an interchange of names is at least permissible. The evidence of the text, and the practice of the artist elsewhere, makes it almost necessary.

The pictures show on the left the three speakers, and on the right the three *advocati* required by the text. The appearance of the first figure may give some reason for the belief that this is Demipho. If this identification could be proved, it would be necessary to regard the third as intended to represent Phormio. In C, however, there is a striking resemblance between the third and the fifth figure, the latter picturing the *advocatus*, Cratinus. In the rest of the MSS. the attitudes and gestures of these two figures are very similar, but in other respects the likeness is not so close. Such a resemblance between Demipho and Cratinus would not be unnatural, for the latter, to judge from the prominence given him in the following scene, was probably also a *senex*. Between Phormio and Cratinus, however, such a resemblance seems unnatural, and it is very improbable that any likeness between these two characters was designed by the artist. If this view is correct, one must doubt either the integrity of the miniatures or the identification of the third figure as Phormio. Another ground for rejecting the

accepted view is that the collocation of figures which it requires is inconsistent with the text. Wieseler, believing the first to represent Demipho, was unable to explain his separation from his *advocati*.¹ Twice in the opening of the scene he bids them follow him and support him in the encounter with Phormio. If Demipho is the first on the left, not only are two characters between him and his *advocati*, but the latter actually seem to be supporting his adversary. That the artist was capable of such a blunder is abundantly disproved by the rest of his work. A third objection to the usual identification of figures in this place is the impossibility of finding a passage to which the miniatures refer. Presumably it would be near the end of the scene,² for it is here alone that Phormio pretends a depth of feeling, such as the gesture of the third figure indicates. Moreover, it is Demipho, not Phormio, who is the excited and indignant character in this scene. The almost passive attitude of the first figure is ill suited to suggest any depth of feeling. The position of Geta also is important. He is shown addressing, or trying to address, the third character. If this is Phormio, Demipho could not have failed to observe this action. But Geta at no place permits Demipho to see or overhear him addressing Phormio. If Demipho is represented by the third figure, the position of Geta is appropriate to v. 28 ff. of the scene. Here he attempts to set forth to his master the insulting language of Phormio. As must have happened in an actual performance, he is in a position to withdraw to the rear of Phormio as the quarrel continues. That he does this is certain, since, without the knowledge of Demipho, he several times addresses Phormio.³

For the reasons given I reject the traditional interpretation of the miniatures at this place. The true explanation I conceive to be as follows: The artist, as usual, selected the most dramatic moment of the scene, when in v. 31 ff. Demipho first assails Phormio. The parasite is the first character on the left, and is shown awaiting the onset. Geta is deceitfully trying to catch his master's attention, that he may tell his story of Phormio's impudence. Demipho is the third figure. In high feeling, and with a gesture appropriate to him, he is addressing Phormio. His *advocati* follow him as they have been directed to do, and the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

² Cf. Wieseler, p. 69.

³ Cf. vv. 42, 82, 93.

nearest seems about to lay his hand upon Demipho's shoulder in token of his support.

The speaking characters are not shown in the usual collocation, because the nature of the scene does not permit it. It was impossible for the artist to present a true picture if he separated Demipho from his *advocati*, or if he presented the latter between Demipho and Phormio. By painting the figures of the three speakers in exactly the opposite of the usual order, he has given a picture appropriate to the scene.

The identification of figures hitherto accepted has rested upon the assignment of names in C, for the picture with the names has several times been reproduced from this manuscript.¹ As there has been frequent occasion to point out, the assignment in C has little authority. In the rest of the MSS., and particularly O, P, the assignment has greater authority, since it has been made by persons of sharper vision and better knowledge of the text. In this place, however, F, O agree with C in having the normal order of names. The evidence of P is not clear. The names at present are all written over erasures, except the first and the last. The first hand erased at least the fourth and fifth names and wrote others in their places. It seems probable, or at least not improbable, that the erasures of the second and third names were also made by the copyist, for, in addition to the erasures in the fourth and fifth places, he assigned no name to the first figure. The changes in the assignment and the failure to write any name for the first figure, or, more probably, for the first three figures, were with little doubt due to his uncertainty about their true order.² As early, therefore, as the ninth or tenth century, the identification of the first character as Demipho, the third as Phormio, seems to have been questioned. It was rejected by the person who later supplied the first three names in dark ink, for these are correctly assigned, if the interpretation given above is right.³

Phorm. 2, 4 (v. 441). The artist selected for illustration vv. 6-9 of

¹ Cf. Wieseler, *op. cit.*, Taf. X, 7; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, Taf. III, 7. It was first published by D'Agincourt.

² Cf. p. 163.

³ The manner in which Umpfenbach gives the heading in P seems to indicate that the names are arranged in two lines, but this is an error. See Pl. 37, accompanying Mr. Weston's article in this volume of the *Harvard Studies*.

the scene. If the interpretation of the preceding picture is correct, the five characters remaining after the departure of Phormio are shown in the same relative order, except that the first two of the *advocati* have exchanged places. Geta, though the second speaker, is seen departing on the left, because he has been directed by Demipho to see if Antipho is at home. Demipho then appears in consultation with his *advocati*, who are speakers in this scene. The interchange of position between Hegio and Cratinus, contrary to the order in which they speak, rests upon the unwillingness of Hegio, in the seventh verse, to be first to give his advice. In C, F, P the names are correctly assigned, but in C the first two are written over an erasure by the usual corrector. There is no reason to doubt that these two names were written in the usual order by the copyist.

Phorm. 3, 2 (v. 485). The miniatures refer most probably to the end of the scene, where Dorio makes his final offer to sell the *citharistria* to Phaedria, provided he is the first to get the money. The attitude and gesture of Dorio are appropriate to this place. The figures of the young men are not to be distinguished by their appearance, but the dialogue requires that the second be identified as Antipho. He is not seen by Phaedria until in v. 18 of the scene. It is not until v. 30 that he appeals to the *leno* in Phaedria's behalf. Since the young men are shown not conversing, but facing Dorio, the passage illustrated must follow the verse named, and there can be little doubt that the second figure was intended to represent Antipho. The collocation, therefore, is normal in every way. Though the young men are the first and third speakers in the scene, as characters having the same rôle they have contiguous positions on the left. This leaves Dorio and Geta in correct order on the right. In the mss. the assignment of names is correct.

Phorm. 4, 1 (v. 567). Since the appearance and gestures of the two *senes* are very similar, it seems impossible to identify them, or to determine the part of the scene selected for illustration. In the mss. they are named in the usual order, in F by a later hand.

Phorm. 4, 3 (v. 606). The miniatures illustrate v. 59 ff. of the scene, where Demipho discusses with Geta the amount necessary to buy off Phormio. The first two characters, Antipho and Geta, are shown in the usual order, but the two *senes* occupy each the place which the other would normally receive. The reason for this change of order

lies in the fact that it is Demipho rather than Chremes who tries to make the bargain with Geta. It may also be due in part to the language of v. 600, for at the time of this verse Demipho was between Geta and Chremes. In C, O, P the names are assigned correctly. The later hand in F has given the usual order of names, and has erred, therefore, in naming the figures of the *senes*.

Phorm. 4, 5 (v. 713). The opening of the scene seems to be pictured in the miniatures. The second figure is shown with the bag of money, and is thereby identified as Demipho, the first speaker in the scene. The first figure must be Chremes, the third speaker. Demipho addresses both Chremes and Geta and is best placed between them. Geta could not be shown between the two *senes*, because he twice in the scene speaks aside. For these reasons the artist was obliged to vary from his usual rule in the collocation of characters. The two characters of the same rôle are brought together in the picture contrary to the order of their first participation in the dialogue. In F, O, P the figures are named correctly, in F by a late hand. In C the names are in the usual order and are wrong for the first two characters.

Phorm. 5, 3 (v. 784). In this scene the miniatures have a distribution of characters not only inexplicable by means of the text, but entirely opposed to it. Since Chremes is shown on the right, just as he is coming from the house of Demipho, the picture seems to illustrate v. 12 f. of the scene (v. 795 f. of the play). The picture is unsuited to show the action at this place. Chremes, at his entrance, does not at once see his wife, but begins to converse with Demipho. To illustrate the verse named, therefore, Demipho should be between Nausistrata and Chremes, but in the pictures Nausistrata is between the other two characters. Moreover, in v. 22 (v. 805 of the play) Chremes seems to speak to Demipho in such a way as to prevent his wife from hearing him. If this is true, it is obvious that whatever the collocation was in v. 12, at this point Nausistrata could not have occupied the position in which she is pictured. The miniatures are inappropriate, therefore, to show the arrangement of the characters on the stage. The reason for this will be shown later.¹ In the mss. the names are correctly assigned, in F by a late hand.

¹ See p. 151 f.

Phorm. 5, 8 (v. 894). The artist, true to his usual rule in the selection of a passage, has presented Demipho and Chremes struggling with Phormio in the attempt to drag him away and prevent him from calling Nausistrata out of the house. Phormio is properly shown between the other two characters, whose separation, contrary to the usual arrangement, is required. The only ground upon which to base an identification of the figures of Demipho and Chremes is the evident fact that the figure on the right is trying not only to drag Phormio away, but also, by placing his hand over Phormio's mouth, to prevent his crying out. The activity of this figure, greater than that of the first, suggests Chremes, whose interests are much more at stake, and who in v. 93 sees the necessity of stopping Phormio's mouth. The position of Demipho on the left shows in all probability that in the manuscript used by the artist as in our MSS. he was the first speaker in the scene. With regard to the order in which Phormio and Chremes enter the dialogue, positive evidence is precluded by the exigencies of the picture. In the artist's manuscript the verse transmitted as the twelfth in all our MSS. may either have had this position, or it may have been the third, the position to which it is restored by Fleckeisen. It could scarcely have come first of all, a restoration proposed by Bothe.

Of the MSS. F and O have lost this part of the Phormio. In P the names are correctly assigned, if the distinction made above between the figures of the two *senes* is accepted.¹ In C the copyist wrote the names of Demipho and Chremes together on the left, of Phormio on the right. For the last two figures the assignment was wrong. Some one, other than the usual corrector, observed the error and changed the last two names by writing the correct names over the incorrect ones.

Phorm. 5, 9 (v. 990). In the miniatures last under discussion, the last four verses of the scene are illustrated. In the present scene the first verse was chosen by the artist for the picture. The brief interval of time elapsing between the two illustrations suggested to the artist the necessity of keeping Demipho and Chremes in the same relative order in both. It is very probable, therefore, that Demipho is the first of the two *senes*, Chremes the second. Nausistrata is first on the left,

¹ Schlee, *op. cit.*, p. 7, was in error in supposing that the order of names in P has been changed by a later hand.

Phormio last on the right. The order in which the characters speak in the scene is in doubt. In the Bembinus the first verse is assigned to Nausistrata, Phormio being the second speaker, followed in turn by Chremes and Demipho. If this is the right distribution of the parts, the collocation of figures is very unusual, for Phormio, though his position seems entirely natural, might with equal propriety have been shown between Nausistrata and the other characters. The artist's reason for showing him last of all is explained by the distribution of the *notae* in the later mss. In all of these the interjection *hem* in the first verse is assigned to Chremes,¹ so that Phormio is the third to speak, and Demipho the last. There can be little doubt that this was the order in which the characters entered the dialogue in the artist's manuscript. According to the practice elsewhere, those of the same rôle are given contiguous positions in the place which the first of them to speak would naturally receive, so that Phormio perforce is shown last of all. In C, P the names are assigned correctly, if the identification of Demipho and Chremes, given above, is right.

Hec. 2, 2 (v. 243). The miniatures are designed to show the action in v. 29, where Laches turns to Sostrata, believing that she is the cause of Philumena's unwillingness to return to Pamphilus. The gesture of the first figure is appropriate to the words of Phidippus immediately preceding. That this is Phidippus is shown also by the door behind him, for he enters the stage from his own house. The figures are arranged in the normal order. In C, O, P, the names are correctly assigned. On the names in F, written throughout this play by a later hand, I have no information.

Hec. 3, 4 (v. 415). It has already been shown that the figure of Parmeno does not appear twice in the miniatures at this place.²

¹ In A a *nota* appropriate to none of the characters in this scene was written before the word *hem* by a corrector of the fifth or sixth century. (On the time of this hand, Umpfenbach's *corrector recens*, see Hauler's revision of Dziatzko's edition of the *Phormio*, p. 184 f., and Kauer, *Wiener Studien*, XX, 1898, p. 252-276.) The interjection seems too apposite to Nausistrata to suppose that in A the *nota* of Chremes before the word in question, and that of Nausistrata following it, have been lost by accident. On the other hand, we should expect an exclamation from Chremes at this point, and the order of figures in the miniatures shows that with little doubt the assignment of *hem* to Chremes is at least as old as the artist's time.

² See p. 66 f.

The miniatures refer to v. 16 ff., where Pamphilus, the third speaker, is trying to get Parmeno, the first speaker, away from Phidippus' door. These characters, necessarily shown together, are painted on the right. Of the two slaves on the left, one is Sosia, the other, a mute character. In C, O, P, the regular order of names is found, so that the figure of Pamphilus is rightly named. The first of the slaves is wrongly called Parmeno, while the true Parmeno, on the extreme right, is without assignment.

Hec. 3, 5 (v. 451). The pictures are probably designed to present the action during vv. 43-45, the last that were spoken while Pamphilus was on the stage. The attitude of the second figure, who is half turned towards Pamphilus, and the gesture suggest the words of Phidippus in v. 43. The sharper gesture of the first is appropriate to the strong admonition of Laches in this and the following verse. The collocation is normal in every way, and this is the order in which the names are assigned in C, O, P.

Hec. 4, 4 (v. 623). The miniatures illustrate v. 46 f., where Laches, in answer to Phidippus' question about the disposition of the child, replies that it must be restored to Pamphilus. The second of the two *senes* on the left is conversing with the first, but he is partly turned and is pointing toward Pamphilus. The figures are arranged in the usual order, and the assignment in C, O, P is correct.

Hec. 5, 2 (v. 767). The first five verses of the scene appear to have been chosen for the illustration. The *nutrix*, who must be supposed to enter the house of Phidippus after the third verse, is first on the left. For this reason it is necessary to regard the second figure, the first of the *senes*, as designed to represent Phidippus, though there is little in his appearance to distinguish him from Laches. The gesture of the third character, who is pointing to Bacchis, is equally suitable to Phidippus' question *Haecine east?* and Laches' answer *Haec est*. Disregarding the *nutrix*, who is a mute character, the figures are in the usual order, and this is the order of the names in C, O, P.

Ad. 1, 2 (v. 81). It is equally difficult to determine the passage selected by the artist, and to identify the two *senes*. From the more violent gesture of the first, together with some appearance of anger, it is probable that this figure represents Demea. If this is true, the arrangement is the usual one. In C, O, P, the names are assigned in this order, but in F the order is reversed.

Ad. 2, 4 (v. 265). The artist chose vv. 7-11 for his illustration. Of the two young men shown on the left, the first is Aeschinus, chiding Ctesipho for the rash course he was about to pursue. That the first figure represents Aeschinus, who has just come upon the stage, is shown also by the door on the extreme left of the picture. The second figure, Ctesipho, in a passive attitude, is listening to Aeschinus. Of the two on the right, Syrus has his right hand on Ctesipho's shoulder, while with his left he holds Sannio by the wrist. This conception and the unusual order of these two figures are explained by the opening verses of the scene. Since at the entrance of Aeschinus Sannio sees that he has come without the money, and has reason to fear further violence from him, it is natural that he should avoid the youth as far as possible, or even attempt to leave the stage. For this reason Sannio, though he is the second speaker, is shown last on the right. The young men are given contiguous positions in spite of the fact that Ctesipho is the third speaker in the scene. The names are correctly assigned in the mss.

Ad. 3, 2 (v. 299). The miniatures are best referred to some point before v. 22, where Sostrata first accosts Geta. The slave is the first on the left, as the first speaker in the scene. He is shown in a state of great excitement, as is denoted by his gestures with both arms. Of the two women on the right, the first seems to be pointing to Geta while addressing the other. The last figure, with outstretched arm, is advancing toward Geta, apparently with the purpose of addressing him. There can be little doubt that this is Sostrata, the figure in the middle representing Canthara. For this unusual collocation the dialogue gives no explanation, and it must be ascribed to the fancy of the artist. Since Canthara speaks but a few words in the scene, the artist may have chosen to represent her between the other two, that she might seem to be a more active participant in the action and dialogue. If this identification is right, the names in the mss. are incorrectly assigned to the last two figures.

Ad. 3, 4 (v. 447). Since the miniatures show Geta appealing to Hegio in behalf of Sostrata and her daughter, they must be referred to vv. 9-12. Hegio does not see Demea until v. 15 is reached. For this reason the two *senes* could not be shown together in the usual order. By painting Hegio on the left, Demea on the right, with Geta between them, the artist has produced a picture suitable to illustrate the passage



named. Though the order is unusual, it is that in which the characters speak for the first time in the scene. The names are correctly assigned in the MSS.

Ad. 4, 2 (v. 540). The miniatures present the action on the stage as it appeared in an actual performance at v. 13 ff. At this point Ctesipho leaves the stage. His gesture toward the door on the right is accounted for by his words before his departure. Syrus, in an attitude of dejection,¹ is advancing to a place where Demea can see him, as he does in v. 14. Demea, as the first speaker, is first on the left, but Ctesipho, the second speaker, is last on the right. He could not be painted between Demea and Syrus, because he is shown by his own words to be avoiding Demea. The assignment of names in the MSS. is correct.

Ad. 4, 3 (v. 592). The miniatures are best regarded as illustrating v. 7 ff. of the scene. The second of the *senes*, half turned from the first, is making a gesture, apparently of direction, toward his left. This figure probably represents Hegio as he asks Micio to go with him to see Sostrata. If this identification is correct, the figures are in the usual order. This is the manner in which the names are assigned in the MSS.

Ad. 4, 7 (v. 719). The passage illustrated is hard to determine, and might with equal probability be any one of several places. The order of characters is not in doubt. The proximity of the first to a door on the left shows that this is Micio, who enters from his own house at the beginning of the scene. This evidence is confirmed by the more violent gesture of the second, which is appropriate to the anger of Demea. The figures, therefore, are arranged in the usual order. The names are correctly assigned in the MSS.

Ad. 5, 3 (v. 787). The part of the scene selected for illustration and the assignment of names to the two *senes* are very doubtful. At the same moment Micio comes out of the house of Sostrata, and Demea out of the house of Micio. Since we cannot be sure whose door is shown on the left of the picture, this gives no aid in identifying the figures. The gestures too are difficult of interpretation. The pictures could be assigned to any of several places in the text with varying identification

¹ It might be thought that Syrus is pointing to his lip, which he pretends in v. 20 has been injured by a blow from Ctesipho, but the hand lifted toward the face is almost invariably a sign of dejection.

of the figures, but the evidence is too uncertain to warrant any decision. In the MSS. the names are assigned in the usual order.

Ad. 5, 7 (v. 899).¹ The pictures are intended to show the stage action at v. 19 ff. Demea has sent Syrus away on an errand, whereupon he is thanked by Geta for his kindness to Sostrata and her daughter. Geta, though the fourth speaker, is the third figure, while Syrus, the third speaker, is seen leaving the stage on the right. Aeschinus and Demea are in the usual order on the left. In C, O, P the names are correctly assigned, but F has the usual order, so that the figures of Geta and Syrus have their names interchanged.

Ad. 5, 8 (v. 924). The verses to which the miniatures are to be referred, and the identification of the first two figures are very uncertain. If the opening of the scene is illustrated, Micio is probably the first on the left. If the artist had in mind v. 10 ff., where Micio is urged to marry Sostrata, it would be more fitting for him to be between the other two characters. The evidence seems inadequate to establish even a probability. In the MSS. the names are assigned in the usual order.

Ad. 5, 9 (v. 958). The miniatures illustrate vv. 25, 26, the last two in which Syrus speaks, after which he probably leaves the stage. The four figures are in two groups. On the left Syrus and Demea are seen, the latter felicitating or addressing Syrus on his good fortune. On the right Aeschinus is probably appealing to Micio in behalf of Syrus, though he may be thanking him for his bounty, as he does in v. 26. The figures are in the usual order, except that on the right, Micio and Aeschinus, respectively the third and fourth speakers, have been interchanged. The reason for this deviation is found in the dialogue. Micio is unwilling to give freedom, first to Syrus, then to Phrygia, the wife of Syrus, and finally to give them something with which to begin their new life, but he is persuaded by Demea and Aeschinus to concede these favors one after another. In his belief that Syrus has not merited such rewards, it is natural that he should be represented as far as possible from Syrus and Demea.

In C, O the names are correctly assigned. In F they are in the normal order, and are wrong for the last two figures. The copyist of P was

¹ Facsimiles of the Vatican miniatures at this place and before v. 889 are given by Silvestre, *Paléog. Univ.* II, near the end.

uncertain about the interpretation of the picture, probably because he thought that the first two figures might represent Micio formally giving Syrus his freedom.¹ After correctly assigning the first two names, he omitted the last two.

Such is the list of miniatures in which the order of figures either is unusual, or seems subject to serious doubt. In all others the evidence is reasonably clear that the collocation was determined entirely by the order in which the characters speak in the several scenes. To give a summary of the 53 scenes which have been considered in this paper, twelve appear to have a normal order of figures, seven are in such doubt as to make any decision inadvisable, while the rest certainly have an unusual collocation. These are 34 in number, and may be further classified. In *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031) the deviation is only apparent, and is explained by a variation in the distribution of the dialogue. In *Phorm.* 5, 9 (v. 990) part of the apparent disorder is accounted for in the same way. The unusual arrangement of the rest of the figures at this place is explained by the order of the same characters in the previous scene. Two other miniatures are best accounted for wholly in this way.² In three scenes where there is nothing in the text that suggests the collocation, the artist depended entirely on his fancy.³ The same is true in part in two other miniatures, the unusual order of the rest of the figures being evidently due to the dialogue.⁴ In 24 scenes the artist followed closely the evidence of the text. In only one instance is the picture inappropriate to illustrate the scene, and in this case there is reason to doubt its genuineness.⁵

COMPARISON OF THE ORDER OF NAMES WITH THE ORDER OF FIGURES

The discussion now reverts to the scene-headings. It was shown above that the unusual order of names found in a few of the Bembine headings has never been satisfactorily explained. The lists of such scenes given by Umpfenbach and Studemund are defective, chiefly be-

¹ Cf. v. 13.

² *And.* 2, 6 (v. 432); *Eun.* 3, 5 (v. 549).

³ *And.* 3, 4 (v. 580); *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643); *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299).

⁴ *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459); *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723). On this place, see further p. 158 f.

⁵ *Phorm.* 5, 3 (v. 784); cf. p. 151 f.

cause these scholars had not accurately determined the characteristic arrangement of names. For the later mss. no one, apparently, has ever given any statistics. To supply this want, and to facilitate the comparison of the several mss. included in this investigation, the table given on p. 105 has been prepared. Because of certain differences in the illustrated mss., it has seemed best to select one of them for the statistics about the order of figures. I have chosen the Vaticanus (C) because of my conviction that for the miniatures, at least, it has most faithfully preserved the tradition of its family.¹ In both the headings and the miniatures mute characters have been disregarded, since their position was not determined in the same way as that of speakers. The scenes are classified according to the number of speaking characters they contain. Under each manuscript the first column gives the several numbers of scenes in which the usual order of names, or of figures in C, is found, the second column, the numbers of those which have some unusual order. Under C the third column includes those in which the order of figures is in doubt.

The total number of scene-headings with an unusual order of names varies between 12 in A and 22 in E, M. In C an unusual order of figures is found in 34 miniatures, with seven in doubt. In the case of these seven, it must be remembered, the want of evidence upon which to base a decision is the only reason for considering them doubtful. Since in scenes having two or three characters a large majority of the miniatures have the normal collocation, it is probable that nearly all, possibly all of the seven were intended by the artist to be regular in every respect. Even if this is true, exceptions to the usual rule are found in the miniatures more frequently than in the headings. The difference, however, is not so great as the several numbers seem to indicate. Of the total number of scenes classified under each manuscript in the first table, the percentage that have an unusual arrangement of characters is 12 in A, 14 in L, 17 in D, Paris. 10304, 20 in E, M, 21 in G, not less than 27 or more than 33 in C, and 43 in the later portions of D. Between the miniatures and the scene-headings in

¹ Cf. p. 141. Since writing the above I am pleased to find that Mr. Weston on different grounds has reached the same conclusion. See p. 43 of this volume of the *Harvard Studies*.

ORDER OF CHARACTERS

	A		D		D ²		G		L		M		Paris. 10304		E		C		
	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Usual	Unusual	Doubtful
Two characters	54	0	56	1	3	0	42	3	59	1	53	6	52	0	55	4	54	2	5
Three "	27	4	29	8	1	1	17	7	32	6	27	9	27	8	26	12	24	15	2
Four "	6	5	7	7	0	2	8	6	8	7	8	5	6	8	9	4	5	13	0
Five "	2	2	0	3	0	0	1	2	0	2	3	2	1	2	0	2	0	4	0
Six "	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	89	12	92	19	4	3	68	18	99	16	91	22	86	18	90	22	83	34	7

The following table is intended to show the number of scenes in each manuscript in its present state, and the total number of places of scene-division in the parts which are lost : —

DIVISION OF SCENES

	A	D	D ²	G	L	M	Paris. 10304	E	C
Scenes included above	101	111	7	86	115	113	104	112	124
Scenes with one character	16	14	1	11	12	9	15	12	15
Defective heading	0	3	0	11	5	2	2	9
Headings erased, faded, or omitted	0	0	0	5	0	18	13	2
Scenes united : other codices divide	7	14	0	4	12	6	10	13	9
Places of scene-division lost with text	26	8	0	33	6	2	6	2	2

E, G, M the differences are little greater than those between the scene-headings in the several mss. of the δ family.

The statistics given above demonstrate that in the great majority of scenes the headings and the miniatures have the characters arranged according to the same principle. In scenes also where the arrangement of characters is unusual, evidence of the same principle is found, for in nearly all of these the deviation from the usual order is confined to a part of the names or figures. The first speaker is usually the first of the speaking characters to be named or painted on the left. To this rule there is one exception in A, two in L, three in D, four in Paris. 10304, five in E, ten in G, twelve in M, and only twelve certain exceptions in C.¹ It is further true that the unusual arrangement is produced in most instances by the position given a single name or figure, or by an exchange of position between two names or figures. By changing the position of one name, or by interchanging two names, most headings of four or more characters can be reduced to the normal order. The exceptions are one each in A, D, L, Paris. 10304, two in E, and three each in G, M. If the same test is applied to the miniatures, the figures in all but five can be reduced to the normal collocation.² In scenes of three characters the reverse of the usual order is very rare. There is only one instance each in C, D, L, and two in G.³

In both the headings and the miniatures the tendency toward an unusual order increases rapidly with every addition to the number of

¹ *And.* 2, 6 (v. 432), C, E, M; 3, 1 (v. 459), C, M; 5, 1 (v. 820), D, E, G, L, M; 5, 4 (v. 904), C, E, G, M; *Haut.* 2, 2 (v. 230), M; 4, 1 (v. 614), G, M; *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), C, G; 3, 5 (v. 549), C, M; 4, 3 (v. 643), C, Paris. 10304; 4, 4 (v. 668), C, M; 4, 7 (v. 771), C; 5, 4, 21 (v. 943), M; *Phorm.* 1, 3 (v. 153), E, M; 1, 4 (v. 179), G; 2, 1 (v. 231), G; 2, 3 (v. 348), C; 2, 4 (v. 441), C; 4, 5 (v. 713), C; 5, 3, 12 (v. 795), A, D, L, M, Paris. 10304; *Hec.* 2, 2 (v. 243), D, G, M, Paris. 10304; 3, 4 (v. 415), C; *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299), Paris. 10304; 4, 1 (v. 517), E; 5, 1 (v. 763), G; 5, 3 (v. 787), G; 5, 8 (v. 924), G. On *Phorm.* 5, 3, 12 (v. 795), see p. 151 f. On *Ad.* 5, 8 (v. 924), see p. 153 f.

² *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459), C, E, M; 5, 4 (v. 904), E, G, M; *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614), G, M; 4, 4 (v. 723), C; *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), C, G; 4, 7 (v. 771), C; 5, 8 (v. 1031), D, L, Paris. 10304; *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348), A; 2, 4 (v. 441), C. On *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723), see p. 158 f. On *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031), see p. 150 f. On *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348), see p. 114.

³ *Phorm.* 1, 4 (v. 179), G; 2, 1 (v. 231), G; 2, 3 (v. 348), C; 5, 3, 12 (v. 795), D, L.

characters. In nearly every scene which has two speakers, these are named or painted in the usual order. Of scenes with three speakers, the percentage that have some deviation from the normal arrangement is 13 in A, 16 in L, 22 in D, 23 in Paris. 10304, 25 in M, 29 in G, 32 in E, and 37 in C. For scenes with four or more characters the percentage is 39 in M, 40 in E, 47 in G, 50 in A, 53 in L, 59 in D, Paris. 10304, and 77 in C.

From this general comparison of the scene-headings and the miniatures with reference to the order of characters, it is clear that every mark of the one is found in the other. This can scarcely be due to chance, but indicates the existence of a very close relationship between the two. Wherever the regular arrangement both of the names and of the figures is found—and this is true of the great majority of scenes—there is nothing in the order of characters to show the nature of the relationship. In such places the order of names might have been determined by the order of figures, or the artist might have painted the figures in the order of the names in the headings, or both the headings and the miniatures might have been produced by the artist at the same time. Without evidence other than the order of characters in such scenes, these theories seem equally possible. The evidence to decide the relationship must be sought, first, in scenes where either the headings or the miniatures, or both, have an unusual order of characters; secondly, in scenes where either the headings or the miniatures, or both, contain mute characters; thirdly, in the rôle-words in the scene-headings.

Before the evidence from these sources is presented, it seems advisable to mention the little that has been written about the origin of the scene-headings, or about the existence of some relationship between the headings and the miniatures. References to these subjects are few, and on the history of the headings relate to Plautus more frequently than to Terence. Spengel, depending chiefly on the MSS. of Plautus, held that originally the rôles alone made up the headings, the names being a later addition.¹ His argument seems to imply a belief that the headings made up of rôles must be assigned to classical times, if not to the authors themselves. On somewhat different grounds, but with equal

¹ *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1883, II, p. 257 ff.

confidence, Seyffert supports Spengel's view about the priority of the rôles.¹ In regard to the time of their origin Seyffert says nothing, but he does conjecture that it was only in the later period of the empire that the names were added in the headings. The source of the names Seyffert finds in the text. This conclusion rests upon errors of different kinds found in the names both in the text and in the headings.

Such is the view that appears to prevail at the present time. A somewhat different theory has lately been proposed by Prescott and approved by Lindsay.² They suggest that in the archetype of the Palatine mss. of Plautus the names were in some way omitted, leaving only the rôles in the headings, and that the names have been supplied by copyists from the text of the plays. In stating his conclusion, Prescott assumes that not only the names in the Ambrosianus, but the rôles in all mss. have come down from Plautus himself.

On the origin of the headings transmitted in the mss. of Terence, Dziatzko is the only scholar, so far as I know, who has expressed an opinion. In the second edition of the *Phormio* he assigns the headings to the second half of the second century B.C., or shortly thereafter.³ This is retained in Hauler's revision of Dziatzko's edition.⁴ For this view no evidence is adduced or arguments given, except that in the period mentioned, Terence, together with other writers, was the subject of the study and research of Roman scholars. The assignment of the headings to the writers themselves, or even to a very early period, rests, if not on theory, at least on very slight evidence. To such an extent has it been accepted that the traditional orthography in the headings has been changed to that employed in the text of the plays.

Leo and Schlee are the only scholars who have discussed the possibility of some connection between the miniatures and the scene-headings. Leo barely referred to it, only to deny the existence of such a relation.⁵ He reached this conclusion chiefly on the ground of differences in scene-division, but also in part because of the omission of the names of

¹ *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, XLVII (1886), p. 10 f.

² Cf. Prescott, *Harv. Stud.* IX, p. 102; Lindsay, Ed. *Captivi*, Introd., p. 8, and *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI, p. 29.

³ *Einleitung*, p. 19.

⁴ *Allgem. Einl.*, p. 26.

⁵ *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII, p. 346.

mute characters in headings where their figures are shown in the pictures. Schlee went even further and tried to prove that the headings transmitted with the miniatures in the illustrated mss. did not come from the original manuscript adorned with pictures, but from some member of the δ family.¹ Leo had compared the mss. chiefly of the γ and δ families. Schlee pointed out a number of places where mute characters are shown in the miniatures, but are not named in the Bembine headings, or where these mss. are at variance in the distribution of the scenes. On these grounds he denied the existence of any relationship between the miniatures and the Bembine headings.

The evidence used by Leo and Schlee was wholly inadequate, and has, in fact, led them to precisely the wrong conclusion. It has already been shown in this paper that the normal arrangement of names is identical with that of the figures. This alone indicates that the headings and the miniatures are in some way connected. It remains, by a careful analysis of the evidence, to show that the relationship is so close that one must owe its origin to the other. This evidence will lead to the conclusions that the miniatures were prior to the headings; that the headings are not due to the artist, but to some later person who took the names from the text and applied them to the figures in the miniatures; that the names and the rôles in the headings are due to the same person and have been transmitted together.

In subsequent comparisons of the headings and the miniatures, all scenes are disregarded in which both the order of names and the collocation of figures are normal. For scenes in which the order of names in the several mss. is unusual, the miniatures are classified in the table given on p. 110.

The first two columns in this table show that in every manuscript the majority of headings with an unusual order of names are found in scenes where the miniatures have an unusual collocation of figures. The percentage of such headings is 55 in M, 56 in G, 58 in D, 59 in E, 63 in L, 67 in A, D², and 72 in Paris. 10304. Moreover, a comparison of the order of names with the order of figures in places where they are both unusual, shows that they are identical four times each in A, L, Paris. 10304, three times each in D, G, twice in the later portions of D,

¹ *Scholia Terentiana*, p. 6 ff.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE MINIATURES IN PLACES WHERE THE ORDER OF
NAMES IS UNUSUAL

	ORDER OF FIGURES			Differences in Scene- Division	Miniatures Lost with Text ¹	Total Headings
	Unusual	Usual	Doubtful			
A	8	3	0	1	0	12
D	11	5	0	1	2	19
D ²	2	1	0	0	0	3
G	10	5	1	1	1	18
L	10	3	0	1	2	16
M	12	7	1	1	1	22
Paris. 10304	13	3	0	1	1	18
E	13	7	1	0	1	22

and six times each in E, M.² In these scenes the headings exactly reproduce the unusual order of characters found in the miniatures. For the violation of the usual collocation of figures the explanation is obvious. For the unusual arrangement of names no satisfactory explanation has hitherto been offered. In the scenes named it seems certain that the order of figures has determined the order of names.

Of the rest of the headings which have an unusual order of names in scenes where the collocation of figures is unusual, nearly all preserve unmistakable signs that the order of names at one time was identical with the order of figures, or was intended to be so. To make this clear, scenes where such headings are found are discussed in the order of plays in Dziatzko's edition.

¹ The two scenes are *And.* 5, 1 (v. 820) and 5, 2 (v. 842). Miniatures for these places are found in the *Dunelmensis*, but there is some reason to doubt their genuineness. On this see p. 168 f.

² The scenes are: *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301), E; 2, 5 (v. 412), D², E; 2, 6 (v. 432), E, M; 3, 2 (v. 481), E, M; *Haut.* 2, 3 (v. 242), A; 4, 7 (v. 829), A; *Eun.* 3, 5 (v. 549), M; 4, 4 (v. 668), M; 5, 8 (v. 1031), G; *Phorm.* 2, 1 (v. 231), A, D, L, Paris. 10304; 4, 3 (v. 606), D², L; 5, 3 (v. 784), E; *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265), A, Paris. 10304 (rôles); 3, 4 (v. 447), D, E, G, L, M, Paris. 10304; 4, 2 (v. 540), D, G, L, M, Paris. 10304.

To this list must be added the headings preserved before *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301), in two MSS. of the so-called Donatus commentary. See P. Wessner's edition, Vol. I, 1902, *Praef.*, p. xlvii.

And. 3, 1 (v. 459). The headings in D, E, G, L, M, Paris. 10304 give the names of the two women on the left, and of the two men on the right,¹ in this corresponding with the miniatures. Moreover, in E, M Davus is named between Simo and the women, thus preserving the order of figures. In these two mss. Glycerium is named because she is shown in the pictures. In M, Lesbia is named first because the figure supporting Glycerium was thought to be this character.²

And. 5, 4 (v. 904). As in the miniatures, Pamphilus is the first character in E, G, M. Except for the last two *senes*, who can easily be confused, the headings in these mss. reproduce the order of figures. That this was true also of the copies from which D, L, Paris. 10304 are derived, scarcely admits of doubt. These still preserve the order of the *senes* found in G, M, of the same family, and examples are found in every manuscript where the first name was displaced, if it was not that of the first speaker.³

¹ In Paris. 10304 Simo is the second character named, Lesbia, the third, but this is shown by the rôles *obstetrix* in second place and *senex* in third to be a change.

² A heading which must have come from one like that in M is preserved in Parisinus A of the Donatus commentary. Davus and Simo are named in the same order as in M, Glycerium is not mentioned, while the name of Lesbia according to the usual practice was transferred from the first place to the last.

³ Changes of this nature are pointed out in the discussion of individual scenes, but it seems advisable to give complete statistics. According to the theory here presented, the names originally coincided, or were intended to coincide with the figures. In about 24 places, either from the correct identification of figures which cannot easily be confused, or from errors in identifying figures which can easily be confused, the first name written on the left was not that of the first speaker. Wherever this unusual order of names was found, the analogy of regular headings must have prompted copyists to alter the arrangement, in order to give the name of the first speaker its usual place. In *Hec.* 2, 2 (v. 243), D, G, M, Paris. 10304, the original assignment still remains. In *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), A, G, and *Phorm.* 2, 4 (v. 441), D, E, L, the names have in part been reduced to the normal order. In five scenes which have but two characters each, any change produced the usual order. The original assignment at these places is still found in *And.* 2, 6 (v. 432), E, M; *Haut.* 2, 2 (v. 230), M; *Eun.* 3, 5 (v. 549), M (?); *Phorm.* 1, 3 (v. 153), E, M; *Ad.* 5, 3 (v. 787), G. In the remaining thirteen scenes, names now found in one or more mss. on the right were originally in all probability first on the left. These are: *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459), Don., cf. M; 5, 4 (v. 904), D, L, Paris. 10304, cf. E, G, M; *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614), D, G, M, Paris. 10304; 4, 4 (v. 723), D, G, M; *Eun.* 4, 4 (v. 668), E, cf. M; 4, 7 (v. 771), E; *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348), A, D, M;

Haut. 4, 1 (v. 614). The figures of the two women were confused so that the rôle of the *nutrix* appeared first on the left, the name of Sostrata second. That some one has taken liberties with the Bembine heading is shown by the fact that the *nutrix* is called Canthara, though she is nowhere named in the text.¹ It is not unlikely that the names were reduced by this person to the usual order. In other MSS. the rôle *nutrix* was removed from the first to the last place, producing the order of characters still found in D, Paris. 10304. In G, M, also, the *nutrix* is still named last of all, but in some way the names of Sostrata and Chremes have been interchanged.

Haut. 4, 4 (v. 723). The first figure was given the name of Phrygia, the second, Bacchis. In order that the name of Bacchis might be first as usual, some one removed the name of Phrygia to the last place in the heading. This gives the order of names preserved in D, an order that still reproduces the relative positions of Clinia and the two slaves in the picture. The same order is found also in G, M, save that the names of Clinia and Dromo have been interchanged.

Eun. 3, 2 (v. 454). The last two figures on the right in the miniatures are Parmeno and Phrygia. In the headings at this place in A, G their names still occupy this position. Gnatho, who would be named fourth in the normal order, is the first in the miniatures. Such was probably the position of his name in manuscripts from which A, G are derived.² The interchange of the first and third names in the Bem-

3, 2 (v. 485), A, E, M; 3, 3 (v. 534), E; 4, 5 (v. 713), E; *Hec.* 3, 5 (v. 451), E; 4, 4 (v. 623), E, L; *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776), A, D, E, L, M, Paris. 10304. To these should probably be added three scenes in which mute characters, whose figures are painted first on the left, are named last on the right: *Hec.* 5, 2 (v. 767), A; *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), A, D, G, L, M, V; 3, 3 (v. 355), A.

¹ This is found in the Bembine heading alone. In *Eun.* 5, 5 (v. 971), the same manuscript gives Demea as the name of the *senex*, while in the later MSS. he is called Laches. In *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), the Bembinus gives the name of the *meretrix* as Bacchis. Since none of these names are found in the text of the plays named, they are equally without authority. They must be ascribed to copyists, who supplied them from characters of the same rôle and name in other plays. Cf. Haupt, *Opusc.* III, p. 457, and Spengel, *op. cit.*, p. 258 ff.

On the name Dromo, *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776), see p. 118, n. 1.

² In one of the MSS. containing the Donatus commentary a heading is preserved in which the order of names is identical with that in the Bembinus. Cf. P. Wessner's edition, *Praef.*, Vol. I, p. xlvi.

bine heading gives the exact order of the five speakers in the pictures. The same result can be produced in G by changing Gnatho's name from third to first place. Thraso, not Thais, is named first in the heading in this manuscript. The failure to give the first name the usual position, is probably due to a copyist's confusing the *notae* of the characters named.

Eun. 4, 3 (v. 643). In the headings in E, G, as in the miniatures, Phaedria appears between the two *ancillae*. The order of names is probably due to an error in the identification of the *ancillae*, for if the names of these were interchanged, the headings would reproduce the order of figures. In Paris. 10304 Phaedria is named first, followed by Pythias and Dorias in this order. This heading has probably been produced by removing the name of one *ancilla* from the first place. If it was the name of Pythias, the order was originally that now found in E, G; if it was Dorias, the original heading reproduced the order of figures.

Eun. 4, 4 (v. 668). If the rôle of Dorus were written first instead of last in the heading in E, this would illustrate the order of figures, including probably that of the two *ancillae*. That Dorus was named first in some manuscript from which E is derived is nearly certain, since M, to which E is in some way related,¹ still has the name of Dorus in this position.

Eun. 4, 7 (v. 771). If the name of Sanga were written first on the left instead of last on the right, the heading in E would give the precise order of speaking-characters, according to the interpretation of Wieseler approved in this paper. The first four names, in other words, still preserve the order of the last four figures of speakers.

Eun. 5, 8 (v. 1031). The scene-headings at this place afford a good illustration of the manner in which differences in the mss. have obscured the relationship existing between the headings and the miniatures. The differences in scene-division at v. 1049 were cited by Leo in support of his argument against such a relationship.² There can be little doubt, however, that at one time all mss. had a new scene beginning at the verse named.³ The name of Phaedria, who enters at this place, was

¹ These two mss. agree against all others in *And.* 2, 2 (v. 338); 2, 6 (v. 432); 3, 2 (v. 481); *Phorm.* 1, 3 (v. 153). They are also in close agreement in *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459) and *Phorm.* 3, 2 (v. 485).

² Cf. p. 108.

³ See p. 150 f.

inserted in the previous heading when the two scenes were united in A and the δ MSS. One proof of this is the fact that if the name of Phaedria is dropped from the headings in A, D, L, Paris. 10304 before v. 1031, the remaining four names reproduce the order of figures in the pictures. This order, it has been pointed out,¹ depends not upon the dialogue, but upon a distribution of the dialogue preserved only in the illustrated MSS.

Phorm. 2, 1 (v. 231). There is no doubt that in G the name of Demipho was accidentally displaced, and added after the other two names. These names still show the order of Phaedria and Geta. If Demipho is restored to the first place in the heading, G will agree with D, L, Paris. 10304, which belong to the same family, in preserving the order of all the figures.

Phorm. 2, 3 (v. 348). The headings give evidence strongly confirming my interpretation of the miniatures at this place.² If this was correct, the order of figures is as follows: Phormio, Geta, Demipho, Hegio, Cratinus, Crito. Since Demipho is the first speaker, some change was necessary in a heading originating from a correct assignment of names to the figures. The change was made by removing to the end of the heading the first two names, the relative order of which was preserved. The result is the peculiar arrangement of names preserved in A. If the names of the *advocati* are omitted, the same order is found in D, M.³ In the Bembinus, therefore, the *advocati*, as Umpfenbach observed,⁴ cling closely to Demipho, and the heading is strong evidence that as early at least as the fourth or fifth century, the first figure was identified as Phormio.

Phorm. 2, 4 (v. 441). The headings in D, E, L still have the order of the *advocati* pictured in the miniatures. For this reason it can hardly be doubted that the names of Demipho and Geta have been interchanged.

Phorm. 4, 5 (v. 713). The order of names in E arose from a correct assignment to the figures. The name of Chremes, the third speaker, was not permitted to remain first on the left, but was displaced and written last in the heading.

¹ See p. 90 f.

² See p. 92 ff.

³ For the heading preserved at this place in L, see p. 124.

⁴ *Ed. crit. Praef.*, p. x.

Phorm. 5, 9 (v. 990). The position of Phormio, who is named last in the headings in A, Paris. 10304, is explained by the pictures. This is another instance of an order of names in the Bembinus opposed to the distribution of the dialogue preserved in this manuscript.

Such is the list of scenes where the names do not reproduce the precise order of figures, but do contain indubitable evidence that in earlier mss. they did so, or were intended to do so. The number of headings thus explained is four each in A, L, five in M, six in Paris. 10304, and seven each in D, E, G. To these may be added those which exactly preserve the unusual order of figures, thus giving the totals for scenes where both the miniatures and the headings have an unusual order of characters, and the headings preserve the evidence of their origin from the pictures. Scenes of this nature are eight each in A, L, ten each in D, G, Paris. 10304, two in D², eleven in M, and thirteen in E. In such scenes the number of headings that contain some violation of the usual arrangement, and yet have no clear indication of their origin from the miniatures is one each in D, M, two in L, and three in Paris. 10304.¹ There are none whatever in A, E, G. In part of the exceptions noted in the other mss. it is probable that changes in the order of names have been such that they can no longer be traced.

The next class of scene-headings to require notice are those with an unusual order of names in scenes where the collocation of figures is perfectly regular. Headings of this nature vary from three each in A, L, Paris. 10304 to seven each in E, M. It is here that the theory advanced in this paper ought to break down if it is incorrect. Instead of breaking down, it receives from this source some of its strongest support. In nearly all such scenes the unusual order of names originated in errors in the assignment of names to the figures.² Except in five instances, the

¹ These places are *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723), Paris. 10304; *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031), M; *Phorm.* 5, 9 (v. 990), L; *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299), Paris. 10304; 5, 7 (v. 899), D, L, Paris. 10304. On the heading in L before *Phorm.* 5, 9 (v. 990) see further p. 152 f. On *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299), see p. 143, n. 2.

² The exceptions are *And.* 2, 4 (v. 404), D²; *Haut.* 3, 3 (v. 562), D; *Eun.* 5, 4, 21 (v. 943), M; *Ad.* 4, 1 (v. 517), E; 5, 1 (v. 763), G. The heading referred to in M, has come, not from the miniatures, but from a late change in the division of scenes. On this see p. 142. The other four must be ascribed to accident, or to the carelessness of copyists.

headings contain characters whose figures in the miniatures are easily confused, and it is in the names of these that the unusual order is found.¹ The original assignment still remains once each in A, L, twice each in E, G, Paris. 10304,² three times in D, and four times in M.³ In some scenes having three or four characters, figures having the same rôle are placed first on the left in the miniatures. The error in the assignment caused the name of a character, who is not the first speaker, to be written first on the left at these places. Some of these still remain, but in other cases the first name was displaced in order to give the name of the first speaker its usual position. In the class of headings under consideration this has happened once each in D, G, Paris. 10304, twice each in A, L, M, and four times in E.⁴

Of scenes with headings of this class, three are important enough to deserve special mention.

Haut. 5, 5 (v. 1045). This is the place where it is difficult to distinguish between the two figures on the right in the miniatures. These two figures represent Sostrata and her son Clitipho. The identification given in the discussion of this place rests entirely upon the dress of the two characters.⁵ Since the difference in this respect is small, an error in the assignment was easy. That such an error was made, is probable, since the headings at this place in A, D have Clitipho's name third, Sostrata's last on the right. This was probably also true of the manuscript from which G was copied, for in the heading in G, Sostrata is

¹ Of the twelve scenes with a total of 29 headings of this nature, eleven scenes with a total of 26 headings have characters of the same rôle.

² In the heading preserved in G before *Phorm.* 1, 4 (v. 179) the name of Geta was displaced, probably by accident, and written last of all. Cf. p. 114 on *Phorm.* 2, 1 (v. 231).

³ The places are *And.* 4, 2 (v. 684), D, L, Paris. 10304; *Haut.* 2, 2 (v. 230), M; *Haut.* 5, 5 (v. 1045), A, D; *Phorm.* 1, 3 (v. 153), E, M; 1, 4 (v. 179), E, G, M; *Hec.* 2, 2 (v. 243), D, G, M, Paris. 10304; *Ad.* 5, 3 (v. 787), G.

⁴ The places are *Phorm.* 3, 2 (v. 485), A, M; 3, 3 (v. 534), E; *Hec.* 3, 5 (v. 451), E; 4, 4 (v. 623), E, L; *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776), A, D, E, L, M, Paris. 10304.

⁵ The difficulty which copyists found in distinguishing between the figures of women and young men is well illustrated by the miniatures before *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459) and *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723). In the first of these the corrector in C failed to recognize that the fourth figure represents a female character. In the second both the copyist and the corrector confused the figures of male and female characters.

named in second place, and this is best explained as an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the names to the normal order.

Phorm. 3, 2 (v. 485). The appearance of the two young men on the left is so similar that they can be distinguished only with the aid of the text. This source of evidence makes it very probable that Phaedia is the first and Antipho the second figure. In early MSS., however, the names were assigned in the opposite order. Since Phaedia is the first speaker in the scene, a change was natural in order to give his name the usual position. To effect this the name of Antipho was transferred to the third place, apparently, where it is now found in A, E, M, thus giving the only example of a separation of two characters of the same rôle in the Bembinus headings. The position of Antipho's name may have been determined by the fact that he is the third speaker, but there is no satisfactory explanation of the failure to name him, either next after Phaedia, or last of all.¹

Ad. 5, 2 (v. 776). The miniatures present two slaves on the left and Demea on the right. The two slaves, typical of their class, can be distinguished only with the aid of the text. The first of them is shown

¹ Since Geta is not named in the heading preserved in E, as a result of which the name of Antipho is last on the right, it might be supposed that this gives the key to the problem. It is true that in the majority of defective headings the names omitted are those of characters who not only have unimportant parts, but who also speak very few words in the scenes in question. Headings of this nature are as follows: *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614), E, L; 4, 4 (v. 723), E, L; *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), (D), E, L, Paris. 10304; 4, 7 (v. 771), D, L; *Phorm.* 3, 2 (v. 485), E; *Hec.* 2, 2 (v. 243), E; *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299), E; 5, 7 (v. 899), E, G; 5, 8 (v. 924), E. These places afford no evidence that in the names of speakers, at least, the original headings were defective. Such a theory is disproved by the fact that in the Bembinus no names of speakers are omitted, and by the close connection between the headings in all classes of MSS. It may be considered certain that where the names of speakers are omitted, this is due to copyists in the transmission of the MSS.

Defective headings, not included above, are of several classes. In five headings which omit the names of important characters, the defect was made by late changes in the distribution of scenes. These are *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031), E; *Phorm.* 5, 8 (v. 894), D; 5, 9 (v. 990), M; *Ad.* 5, 8 (v. 924), L, Paris. 10304. On the first see p. 150 f., the second and third, p. 152 f., the fourth, p. 153 f.

Two headings have become defective by the accidental omission of names: *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301), G; 4, 1 (v. 625), M.

In nine headings in G, all in the *Phormio*, the names were all omitted except those of the first, or of the first and second speakers.

with a strong gesture in the direction of the other two characters; the second is holding the end of Demea's *pallium*. Since the dialogue in v. 5 ff. indicates that Syrus makes some attempt to prevent Demea from entering the house, toward the door of which the figure of Demea is turned, there can be little doubt that the figure holding Demea's *pallium* is Syrus. The collocation, therefore, is normal. Since there is little or nothing in the manner in which Syrus is holding the *pallium* that indicates his purpose, and since the gesture of the other slave might easily be thought to be directed toward Demea, the person who made up the headings erred in his interpretation. To the first figure he gave the name Syrus, to the second, the rôle *puer* and possibly the name Dromo.¹ The rôle *puer* in the headings at this place is inexplicable on any other grounds.² Since the character thus denoted is the first speaker, the usual change was made in order to give his name (or rôle) the first place. The name of Syrus was transferred to the end of the heading, where it still remains in A, D, E, L, M, Paris. 10304. In G the heading was never written. With this single exception, the non-illustrated mss. give the name Dromo next before Demea, an order that betrays the misinterpretation of the miniatures by the author of the scene-headings.

This concludes the list of scenes in which the collocation of figures is normal, and the order of names is unusual. Of thirty-four headings of this nature, all but five can easily be explained as arising from errors in naming characters pictured in the miniatures.

The third class of headings in the table on p. 110 covers those found in places where the order of figures is in doubt. The only examples of such headings are those in E, G, M, before *And.* 2, 2 (v. 338). These are to be explained as representing one of the two possible interpretations of the miniatures.

¹ Though Dromo is the name of a mute character in v. 376, there is no ground for believing that it is the name of the first speaker in the scene under consideration. The name Stephanio would be quite as appropriate, but, like the name Dromo, it would be another example of an arbitrary assignment. The headings in mss. of all classes give the name Dromo, showing that it has come down from an early period, but it is doubtful whether it is to be ascribed to the author of the headings. In the other three places where arbitrary names are found — see p. 112, n. 1 — differences in the mss. show in all probability that they are due to copyists.

² See p. 132 f.

To the remaining two classes of headings which have an unusual order of names, a peculiar interest attaches. The first class includes only those found before *And.* 5, 1 (v. 820) and 5, 2 (v. 842), at both of which places an ancestor of C, P had lost the miniatures with about fifty verses of the text. The second class consists first, of headings in A, 8 in or before *Phorm.* 5, 3, 12 (v. 795), secondly, of a heading in G before *Ad.* 5, 8 (v. 924). In the first of these, the illustrated mss. have no miniatures, in the second, they have miniatures, but the number of characters pictured is not that named in G, because the division of scenes in v. 958 is involved. Since the headings in neither of these classes can be compared with the miniatures in C, P, they will be disregarded for the present. The first will be considered in discussing the relationship existing among the several illustrated mss.,¹ the second in connection with the subject of scene-division.²

In the table given on p. 110 the miniatures are classified for each of the scenes in the several mss. where the order of names is unusual. Similarly for the thirty-four scenes where the collocation of figures is unusual, the headings are classified in the following table :

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCENE-HEADINGS IN PLACES WHERE THE
ORDER OF FIGURES IS UNUSUAL

	ORDER OF NAMES		HEADINGS		Differences in Scene- Division	Headings Lost with Text
	Unusual	Usual	Defective	Omitted		
A	8	14	0	0	3	9
D	11	11	3	0	5	4
D ²	2	2	0	0	0	0
G	10	12	6	0	1	5
L	10	15	5	0	3	1
M	12	15	1	2	3	1
Paris. 10304	13	14	1	1	4	1
E	13	13	6	0	1	1

In the table above the first class of scenes is identical with the first class on p. 110, and has been fully considered. The second class of

¹ See p. 168 f.

² See p. 154.

headings includes all in the thirty-four scenes under discussion that have the normal order of names. If the theory here advanced is correct, in these scenes also the names were originally arranged, or were intended to be arranged in the peculiar order of the figures. The fact that they are now in the normal order is easily explained. In the great majority of scenes the correct assignment of names to the figures gave the usual arrangement in the headings. It was inevitable that, on the analogy of these, some of the others should be reduced to the normal order. The evidence that changes of this nature have been made, is presented in the following pages.

The tendency to reduce an unusual order of names to one that is perfectly normal, is well illustrated in headings where the arrangement of characters is unusual, but not identical with the collocation of figures. In nearly all of these, as was shown above, some of the names preserve the order of the figures, while the rest have been changed either to the normal order, or to one that more nearly approaches it.

That changes have been made in the order of names, is shown by the MSS. of the δ family. With but few exceptions the headings in these are descended from a common original, as is proved by their occasional agreement in a peculiar order of names,¹ and by certain characteristic marks in the rôle-words and in the arrangement of the names and rôles.² Notwithstanding their origin from a common source, the headings in MSS. of this family are now at variance in the order of names in thirty-five scenes. In two of these the loss of the miniatures,³ and in two others differences in scene-division⁴ prevent any comparison of the order of names with the order of figures. In four places the peculiar order of names must be ascribed to the carelessness of copyists.⁵ In seventeen scenes it reproduces in whole or in part the unusual colloca-

¹ Cf. *Ad.* 3, 4 (v. 447); 4, 2 (v. 540); 5, 2 (v. 776). Cf. also *Hec.* 2, 2 (v. 243), D, G, M, Paris. 10304, and the position of the name Nausistrata, *Phorm.* 5, 3, 12 (v. 795).

² See p. 165 ff. This test cannot be applied to the Lipsiensis, in which the rôles are usually omitted.

³ *And.* 5, 1 (v. 820); 5, 2 (v. 842).

⁴ *Phorm.* 5, 3, 12 (v. 795); *Ad.* 5, 8 (v. 924).

⁵ *Haut.* 3, 3 (v. 562), D; *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299), Paris. 10304; 5, 1 (v. 763), G; 5, 7 (v. 899), D, L, Paris. 10304.

tion of figures,¹ in another place it represents one assignment to the doubtful order of figures,² while in nine it can easily be explained as arising from errors in the assignment of names to a normal collocation of figures.³ In twenty-seven scenes, therefore, a peculiar order of names, having, apparently, some connection with the order of figures, is preserved in part of the mss. of the δ family, while other members of the same family transmit either the normal order of names, or one that in some degree approaches it.

From this comparison of the several mss. of the δ family, it is obvious that changes have been made in the order of names. The direction in which the changes were made is of the utmost importance in determining the history both of the headings and of the miniatures. If, as has previously been assumed, these were in no way connected in origin, they could scarcely have been brought together in a manuscript without some attempt to adapt the names to the figures. On the ground that the copyist of D had more space than he could conveniently use, Dziatzko conjectured that the manuscript of which D is a copy was illustrated.⁴ This suggests the theory that the varying order of names is the result of changes from the normal order to, or in the direction of the real or the supposed order of figures. Such a theory cannot be accepted. The unusual order of names is not confined to any manuscript of the δ family, but is found in all. This disposes of Dziatzko's conjecture, which had reference to D alone, for there is not the slightest evidence that in the headings in this manuscript, more than in the others, an attempt was made to adapt the names to the order of the figures. It may be suggested that the representatives of the δ family from which our mss. are derived, were illustrated, and that the adaptation of the

¹ *And.* 2, 6 (v. 432), M; 3, 1 (v. 459), D, G, L, M, Paris. 10304; 3, 2 (v. 481), M; 5, 4 (v. 904), G, M; *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614), D, Paris. 10304; 4, 4 (v. 723), D; *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), G; 3, 5 (v. 549), M; 4, 3 (v. 643), G, Paris. 10304; 4, 4 (v. 668), M; 5, 8 (v. 1031) D, G, L, Paris. 10304; *Phorm.* 2, 1 (v. 231), D, G, L, Paris. 10304; 2, 3 (v. 348) D, L, M; 2, 4 (v. 441), D, L; 4, 3 (v. 606), L; 5, 9 (v. 990), Paris. 10304; *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265), Paris. 10304 (rôles).

² *And.* 2, 2 (v. 338), G, M.

³ *And.* 4, 2 (v. 684), D, L, Paris. 10304; *Haut.* 2, 2 (v. 230), M; 5, 5 (v. 1045), D; *Phorm.* 1, 3 (v. 153), M; 1, 4 (v. 179), M; 3, 2 (v. 485), M; *Hec.* 2, 2 (v. 243), D, G, M, Paris. 10304; 4, 4 (v. 623), L; *Ad.* 5, 3 (v. 787), G.

⁴ *Rh. Mus.* XLVII, p. 638.

names to the figures went on independently in the several mss., precisely as we see it in C, F, O, P. This might account for the differences in the several mss., for in the places under examination no two of them agree very closely in the order of names.¹ A closer scrutiny shows insuperable objections. Such a theory would require the belief that there were stages in the adaptation of the names to the figures, and that the miniatures were lost when the work was but half completed; that to figures difficult to identify, names were assigned more readily than to those which cannot be confused; or that egregious blunders were made in the identification of figures.² If the theory were correct, it would be inconceivable that the mss. of this family should agree in only two scenes in giving the names in an order appropriate to the unusual collocation of figures;³ it would be equally impossible that in a third place they should agree in an order entirely unsuited to the normal collocation.⁴

For these reasons such a theory seems utterly untenable. In contrast with it, the hypothesis that the change was from the real or the supposed order of figures to, or in the direction of the normal order, leads to an archetype, finds in the analogy of regular headings the grounds which suggested changes, and discovers the principles according to which the changes were made.

In a few places where headings in mss. of this family have the normal order of names, the rôles preserve evidence that changes have been made. Before *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301) the repetition of *adulescens* with the name of Pamphilus in D is easily explained, if both the name and the rôle have been transferred to this position from the last place on the right, the position which the figure of Pamphilus occupies in the miniatures. Similarly the omission of a numeral in D, Paris. 10304 before *And.* 2, 2 (v. 338) is probably due to a change in the position given the names of the young men, the earlier order being still preserved in G. Another instance of the repetition of the rôle *adulescens* is found

¹ The mss. may be divided into two groups, for D, L, Paris. 10304 are several times opposed to G, M.

² Among the places where the order of names is inexplicable by such a theory are *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459); 5, 4 (v. 904); *Phorm.* 2, 4 (v. 441).

³ *Ad.* 3, 4 (v. 447); 4, 2 (v. 540).

⁴ *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776).

in G, M, before *And.* 4, 2 (v. 684).¹ This alone indicates that the archetype of the family named the young men in the reverse of the usual order, the original assignment being still found in D, L, Paris. 10304. The omission of a numeral in D before *Haut.* 2, 2 (v. 230) points to an order of names in the archetype like that transmitted in M. Evidence of the same nature in the headings preserved in D, M before *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643) points to an arrangement of names in the archetype like that in G. Finally the omission of a numeral in D, M before *Eun.* 4, 4 (v. 668) seems to show that the order of names assigned the two *ancillae* was reversed in the archetype.²

In these six places the rôles indicate that the archetype of the family had an unusual order of names, which, in the process of transmission, has been reduced to the normal arrangement. In four of them evidence from this source leads to an order of names still preserved in one or more of the members of this family.³

In two scenes the position given mute characters is all but decisive evidence that the normal headings at these places are due to changes in the order of names. Before *Eun.* 4, 7 (v. 771) the five MSS. of the δ family have the speakers named in the regular order, except that in D, L, Sanga is omitted. In all of them except G, mute characters are named, and in every instance this is in the middle of the heading on the extreme right of the names of the attacking party. The headings, therefore, agree with the miniatures so closely in this respect as to preclude the thought of chance. Moreover, it is possible to determine the original order with reasonable certainty. It is probably no accident that the names of Syrus and Sanga are omitted in D, L.⁴ Since their

¹ The heading in G, which Umpfenbach gives as defective, is in fact complete and resembles that found in M.

² The numeral is omitted also in *And.* 2, 2, (v. 338), G; *Phorm.* 1, 4 (v. 179), G; *Ad.* 4, 3 (v. 592), M. The rôle is repeated in *And.* 4, 1 (v. 625), G; *Eun.* 3, 5 (v. 549), M. One or two of these, and especially the last, may give evidence that a normal order of names was adapted to the order, or the supposed order of figures, but the headings transmitted in G, M have too many variations to give very satisfactory evidence.

³ Evidence from this source is scanty, because it is restricted to scenes in which two characters of the same rôle participate, and because in about half of the headings in G, M, and in nearly all of those in L, the rôles are omitted.

⁴ Cf. p. 117, n. 1. According to P. Wessner, *Praef.* to his edition of Donatus,

figures are first on the left in the miniatures, the omission of their names was probably the device of a copyist to restore the name of Thraso, the first speaker, to its usual position. If the first figure was named Syrus, the sixth was necessarily given the name of Gnatho. In the headings Donax is named in this place. An interchange of position between these two names will give the exact order of the last four figures of the attacking party as interpreted by Wieseler. There is no reason, therefore, to doubt that the headings at this place have suffered changes in the order of names, and that the order was formerly that of the figures in the miniatures.¹ In interpreting the intent of the artist, the person who created the headings reached the same conclusion as Wieseler.

The second scene is *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348), where the heading in L is as follows :

DEMIPHO HEGIO CRITO CRATINVS GETA PHORMIO

The rest of the MSS. of this family omit the names of the three *advocati*, who are mute characters for this scene. The normal order of speakers in L must be due to changes, for D, M still have Phormio and Geta named in the relative order of their figures in the pictures. Moreover, in L, as in A, the *advocati*, though in a somewhat different order, follow immediately after the name of Demipho. This similarity, together with the evidence of D, M, makes it probable that the archetype of this family had the names, both of the speaking characters and of the *advocati*, in exact accord either with the collocation of figures, or with the order of names transmitted in A.

The evidence from these various sources leads to the conclusion that in nearly every scene where the δ codices are at variance, the unusual order of names is either that which existed in the archetype, or it has arisen from it. In such places a normal order of names, or one in any degree approaching it, is the result of changes due to the analogy of headings with the usual arrangement. Of the thirty-one scenes, therefore, where a comparison of the varying order of names with the collocation of figures is possible, in twenty-seven the original order of names

Vol. I, p. xlix, the name of Sanga is omitted also in a heading preserved in one of the MSS. which contain the commentary.

¹ On the rôle *lorarius* at this place in D, M see p. 132.

either reproduced the order of figures, or was intended to do so. This conclusion is not weakened by the seventeen scenes where the order of figures is unusual, but no variations occur in the order of names. In four of these any comparison is precluded by differences in the division of scenes.¹ In two the headings, without exception, give the collocation of figures.² In *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301) the rôles in D give evidence that the original heading had the names in the order of the figures. In *Eun.* 4, 7 (v. 771) the position of mute characters in the headings is inexplicable upon any other theory. In seven scenes any error in assigning names to figures which might easily be confused would result in the normal order.³ Out of thirty-four scenes, therefore, but two remain in which it is necessary to suppose that the reduction of the names to the normal order has left no traces of the change.⁴

In the Bembinus fourteen scenes in which the collocation is unusual have the usual arrangement of names. It is not necessary to hold that the headings in all of these places do not have the original order of names, for in six an error in assignment would have given the order transmitted in A.⁵ In the remaining eight scenes, according to the theory advanced in this paper, changes have been made. The headings are so regular in every way that not more than one or two preserve any evidence of such changes. Reference has been made to *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614), where the Bembinus alone gives a name for the *nutrix*.⁶ Since she is nowhere named in the play, this designation was wholly arbitrary. It gives no direct evidence that the order of names at this place has been changed, but it is improbable that a copyist who would venture to supply a name unwarranted by the text would hesitate to reduce the names to the normal order.

Before *Ad.* 3, 4 (v. 447) an almost certain trace of a change in order remains. Though two *senes* are active in the scene, and according to

¹ *Haut.* 4, 7 (v. 829); *Eun.* 5, 9 (v. 1049); *Phorm.* 5, 3 (v. 784); *Ad.* 5, 9 (v. 958).

² *Ad.* 3, 4 (v. 447); 4, 2 (v. 540).

³ *And.* 3, 4 (v. 580); 5, 3 (v. 872); *Haut.* 2, 3 (v. 242); *Phorm.* 4, 5 (v. 713); *Hec.* 3, 4 (v. 415); *Ad.* 2, 3 (v. 299); 5, 7 (v. 899).

⁴ *And.* 2, 5 (v. 412); *Phorm.* 5, 8 (v. 894).

⁵ *Eun.* 3, 5 (v. 549); *Phorm.* 4, 3 (v. 606); 4, 5 (v. 713); *Hec.* 3, 4 (v. 415); *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299); 5, 7 (v. 899).

⁶ See p. 112.

the usual practice are named together in the heading, the rôle of the first is in the singular. This is surely no mere coincidence. In 31 scenes A agrees with the miniatures in having characters of the same rôle in contiguous positions. In the headings of all of these the rôle is written in the plural, and is followed by II or III. In only three places are the figures of such characters separated in the pictures. In A they are named together as usual, and it is in one of these that the rôle is found in the singular. This points in all probability to a heading in which the two *senes* were separated, as they are, not only in the miniatures, but also in the headings preserved in the later MSS. When the names were reduced to the normal order, the numeral II was substituted for the rôle SENEX, which must have been written with the name of Demea. Through oversight the singular of the same rôle with the name of Hegio was left unchanged.¹

In nearly every instance where mute characters are named in the Bembine headings, they are best explained as due to the figures of such characters in the miniatures. In *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348) the *advocati* occupy the same position relative to Demipho that they do in the pictures. It is true that according to the distribution of scenes in A they are not mute, but there is strong reason to believe that the copyist omitted a heading before v. 441, and thereby combined the two scenes.² If this is true, the naming of the *advocati* in the Bembinus is accounted for by the miniatures.

Hec. 5, 2 (v. 767). In both the Bembine heading and the miniatures the speakers are in the regular order. The *nutrix*, a mute character, is painted first on the left in the pictures, but in A her rôle is last on the right. The recognition of her presence on the stage is more noteworthy, because neither the heading nor the miniatures contain a hint of the two *ancillae* of Bacchis, though these remain on the stage much longer than does the *nutrix*. The agreement of the heading with the miniatures in the number of characters can hardly be due to chance. The original order of names was probably in accord

¹ The six scenes in which the order of names was altered without leaving any traces of the change are *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723); *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643); 4, 4 (v. 668); 4, 7 (v. 771); *Phorm.* 5, 8 (v. 894); *Ad.* 4, 2 (v. 540).

² See p. 155, n. 1.

with the collocation of figures, but the rôle *nutrix* was displaced in order to give the name of the first speaker its usual position.

Ad. 2, 1 (v. 155). For the illustration the artist chose the opening of the scene.¹ Parmeno, who is probably a mute character,² is shown first on the left in altercation with Sannio. Between Aeschinus, the second speaker, who is painted last on the right, and Sannio, the second figure, the *meretrix* is represented. Sannio has seized her right wrist, while Aeschinus has his right hand on her shoulder. This order of characters is preserved in A, except that Parmeno is named last instead of first. There can be little doubt that, according to the usual practice, his name was displaced, in order to give Sannio the first position. The rôle of the *meretrix*, to whom the name of Bacchis has been arbitrarily assigned, was not disturbed, because it did not stand before the name of the first speaker. In naming her between Sannio and Aeschinus, the Bembinus preserves a trace of the struggle pictured in the miniatures.

Ad. 3, 3 (v. 355). The name of Dromo in the Bembine heading at this place and the omission of the name of Stephanio have never been satisfactorily explained. Spengel suggested that Dromo is named because a *cocus* is not an ordinary attendant on the stage.³ The objection to this, as Dziatzko had pointed out,⁴ is that Stephanio

¹ The miniature at this place in the Parisinus, considerably reduced in size, is given in a reproduction by Fabia in his edition of the *Adelphoe*, 1892, p. 94.

² The assignment of the words *Em serva; omitte mulierem* in v. 18 is somewhat in doubt. In A the first two are given to Aeschinus, the second two to Parmeno. The first two are definitely assigned to Aeschinus by Donatus. All the four words are given to Aeschinus by C, E, G, P, by a corrector in D, and probably by the first hand in L, but to Parmeno by D, F (in D the *nota* B was doubtless an error for P), and by later hands in C, E, L, P. In addition to the weight of manuscript evidence, the sense requires that the words *em serva* be spoken by Aeschinus. In view of the fact that Parmeno is directed to watch for a nod from Aeschinus as his warrant for striking the *leno*, the last two words also seem more appropriate if they are spoken by Aeschinus. With the only possible assignment by which Parmeno can be a speaker, and with a *nota personae* for Parmeno in the heading, the Bembinus represents one ancient interpretation. This is accepted by Umpfenbach and Kauer. Another interpretation, probably equally ancient, and usually followed by modern editors, is preserved in MSS. which leave Parmeno a mute character. The third interpretation seems relatively late.

³ *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1883, II, p. 269.

⁴ Ed. *Adelphoe*, 1881, *Krit.-Exeg. Anh.*, v. 380, p. 103.

has an equal right to appear, for the two slaves are addressed by Syrus in vv. 376 and 380 in about the same terms. Spengel gave as a second reason that Dromo's name at this place is due to his being a speaker later in the play. This explanation must be rejected, first, because it is doubtful whether the author of the headings assigned the name Dromo to the first speaker in v. 776¹; secondly, because in the headings before the verse named the rôle *puer*, not *cocus*, is used. There is no evidence, therefore, to show that the characters in the two places were regarded as identical. Unable to explain why Dromo is named in the Bembine heading before v. 355, while Stephanio is passed over in silence, Dziatzko questioned the authority of the scene-headings. With the aid of the pictures, the inconsistency is easily accounted for. In v. 364, at which place all the later mss. institute a new scene, the miniatures have the figure of Dromo, but have none of Stephanio.² Dromo is shown in the house on the left, engaged, as the dialogue demands, in cleaning fish. The artist, in harmony with his practice elsewhere, omitted Stephanio because he was unable, relying on the text alone, to represent him in some active capacity. The Bembine heading, in omitting the name of one character and giving the name of the other, merely follows the authority of the miniatures.

In two scenes the Bembine headings name mute characters whose figures do not appear in the illustrations.³ In these places it is necessary to suppose either that the miniatures have suffered alterations, or that names have been inserted in the headings by later hands. Since there is no evidence of the latter, these places will be considered in connection with the integrity of the miniatures.

With the exception of the two places just mentioned, the names of mute characters both in A and in the δ family are found only in scenes where the pictures contain their figures.⁴ It is not true conversely that

¹ Cf. p. 118, n 1.

² Facsimiles of the miniatures at this place in the Parisinus and the Ambrosianus are given by E. Chatelain, *Paléogr. des class. lat.*, Pl. VII and VIII.

³ *Phorm.* 4, 2 (v. 591); *Ad.* 2, 3 (v. 254). On these see p. 160 f.

⁴ This is not true of places where speaking characters, because of late changes in scene-division, have been made mute for particular scenes. Examples are *Haut.* 2, 2 (v. 230), E; 4, 6 (v. 805), L; *Phorm.* 1, 1 (v. 35), L, M; *Hec.* 5, 1 (v. 727), M. *And.* 5, 5 (v. 957), D, L, M, V, is probably not to be included with these places. On this see p. 147 ff.

the names of such characters are given wherever their figures are painted. It was upon these places, quite as much as upon differences in scene-division, that Schlee denied the existence of any relationship between the Bembine headings and the miniatures.¹ There is indeed no direct evidence that the copyist of A omitted any names of mute characters, but there is no room to doubt that this has happened several times in the δ family.² That such names were ever arbitrarily inserted in the headings, there is very little reason to believe. The tendency was rather to omit names already given. It is very doubtful, therefore, whether any single manuscript contains all the names of mute characters written in the original headings. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the author of the headings assigned a name, or even a rôle, to every figure of a mute character in the miniatures. In several instances such characters are nowhere named in the text.³ In a few places some of the headings do not have the names of speakers to whom only a few unimportant words are assigned. This is certain evidence either that the author of the headings failed to assign names to all the figures, or that some of the names, originally given in the headings, have been omitted by copyists. Both may have been true, but the omission was probably much more frequent than the failure to name speaking characters.⁴ If these have sometimes been omitted, it cannot be doubted that the same thing has happened in the case of mute characters. In spite of the fact, therefore, that no speakers are omitted in the Bembine headings, the tendency to omit the names of mute or unimportant characters, is so well illustrated in the later mss. that we may reasonably suppose that the Bembinus was no exception.

This conclusion is necessary in view of the relationship existing between the headings preserved in the different classes of mss. Notwithstanding certain differences in these,⁵ they have without question come down from a common original. This is proved by the fact that

¹ *Scholia Terentiana*, p. 7 f.

² Cf. *And.* 5, 5 (v. 957), G, Paris. 10304; *Eun.* 4, 7 (v. 771), G; *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348), D, M, Paris. 10304; *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), Paris. 10304.

³ *And.* 1, 1 (v. 28), two slaves; *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), slave-girl; *Hec.* 3, 4 (v. 415), slave; 5, 2 (v. 767), *nutrix*; *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), *meretrix*.

⁴ See p. 117, n.

⁵ The most important of these will be noticed on p. 165 ff.

in the best representatives of each class they have the same form,¹ the same inaccuracy in the use of certain rôles,² and occasionally in A, δ the same unusual order of names arising from errors in identifying the figures.³ Any differences must be regarded as due to changes made either by design or by accident in the process of transmission. Since, therefore, the headings have a common origin, the name of a mute character, even in a single heading, is strong evidence that it was given in the original. This warrants the conclusion that in at least six places where the figures of mute characters appear, they were assigned either names or rôles, or both, by the author of the headings. For the remaining eight places the evidence is negative. The loss of names in some places in all but one or two MSS., suggests that in other places such names may have perished altogether. Whatever the truth may be, it is submitted that, even apart from other evidence, the omission of the names of mute characters in scenes where their figures are shown, is no sufficient test of the relationship existing between the headings and the miniatures.

THE SOURCE OF THE RÔLES

This concludes the comparison of the miniatures and the scene-headings with reference to the number of characters they contain, and the order in which these are arranged. Before we pass to the subject of scene-division, the rôles, to which reference has several times been made, require some attention. In selecting these the author of the headings did not rely upon the text alone, but used the evidence also of the pictures. It is true that in the majority of scenes the appellations found with the names are appropriate to the text of the several plays, but for characters of most frequent occurrence, as *senes*, *servi*, *adullescentes*, even if the text had been wholly disregarded, no other rôles would have been possible. It is in scenes where the rôles are either inaccurate, or inexplicable by means of the text, that the influence of the miniatures is evident.

¹ In the archetype of the δ family the names and rôles may have been inverted in order. On this see p. 165.

² Full consideration of this point follows at once.

³ These places are *Haut.* 5, 5 (v. 1045), A, D, (G); *Phorm.* 3, 2 (v. 485), A, M; *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776), A, D, L, M, Paris. 10304. On these see p. 116 ff.

Inaccuracy in the choice of rôles is found chiefly in scenes which have female characters. In several miniatures the identification of such characters is not easy. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the sixteen scenes where married women are on the stage, they are never given the appellation *matrona*, though they are so designated by the poet himself.¹ In MSS. of every class, the rôle, so far as it is preserved, is *mulier*. The use of the general instead of the specific appellation is best explained as due to the miniatures.

The same inaccuracy is found in six scenes where nurses are on the stage.² In all of these the word *nutrix* is found in the text, the word *anus* occurring in but one.³ The proper designation for such characters is *nutrix*, not the indefinite *anus*. Between the two rôles the Bembine headings are equally divided. In MSS. of the γ family four headings have *nutrix*, one has *anus*, while one has both.⁴ In the Victorianus *nutrix* is once used, *anus* appears in two headings, and as in the γ family one heading has both.⁵ In the rest of the MSS. of the δ family, wherever the rôle is preserved, it is invariably *nutrix*.⁶ This inconsistency, found in all classes of MSS., is probably due to the dependence of the author of the headings on the pictures rather than on the text.

The appellation *anus*, as used above, is open also to the objection that it does not distinguish a nurse from such a character as Syra in the first two scenes of the *Hecyra*. The proper designation of Syra is not very clear. In all classes of MSS. the rôle *anus* is assigned to her, while in C, D, and apparently in the original of Paris. 10304, she is also called a *lena*. From the evidence of the text the former is at least permissible, but the propriety of assigning to her the rôle *lena* is in doubt. Since it

¹ *Eun. Prol.* v. 37.

² *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614); *Eun.* 5, 3 (v. 910); *Phorm.* 5, 1 (v. 728); *Hec.* 5, 2 (v. 767); *Ad.* 3, 1 (v. 288); 3, 2 (v. 299).

³ *Phorm.* 5, 1, 5 (v. 732). The word *nutrix* is not found in *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299), but the two scenes in this play form a single passage.

⁴ *Haut.* 4, 1 (v. 614). There can be little doubt that the rôle *nutrix* in the original heading of this scene has been displaced in the Bembinus by the arbitrary name Canthara.

⁵ In *Hec.* 5, 2 (v. 767) no headings are found because of differences in scene-division. In *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299) the rôles are omitted.

⁶ This is true of five scenes in Paris. 10304.

is not found in the Bembinus, its origin is a question for the solution of which the data are insufficient.

Another instance of inaccuracy in the use of the rôles is the assignment of *cocus* to Dromo in the Bembine heading before *Ad.* 3, 3 (v. 355). Dziatzko insisted that this character is not a cook, but at most is only a kitchen-boy.¹ The rôle is easily accounted for by means of the miniatures, for in these Dromo is shown engaged in cleaning fish.

In three places rôles are used for which no explanation can be found in the text of the plays. The appellation assigned to Antiphila in the original headings before *Haut.* 2, 4 (v. 381), is in doubt. In the Bembinus, by means of a numeral, she is classed with Bacchis as a *meretrix*. In the later MSS. she is given the rôle *mulier*, which elsewhere is reserved for married women. Both are wrong, for it is certain from the context that *virgo* is the proper appellation.

Before *Eun.* 4, 7 (v. 771) the rôle *lorarius*, for which no justification whatever exists in the dialogue, is of the greatest importance in determining the source of the rôles. In D, M, as well as in the illustrated MSS., it must be due to the object carried by the fifth figure in the party of Thraso. In D, as in C, it is significant that the rôle is found with the name of Simalio, whose figure is fifth in the miniatures.² In M, as in F, P, it is given with the name of Donax, the error in all of these being due, probably, to changes in the order of names. As early, therefore, as the origin of the scene-headings, the fifth figure, from the object he is shown carrying in his hand, was believed to represent the *lorarius* of Thraso.

Before *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776) the rôle *puer*, transmitted with the name Dromo in all classes of MSS., is suggested neither by the scene, nor by anything in the play. It is not found elsewhere in the headings. With little doubt the first speaker in this scene, quite as much as Syrus, is a typical slave. Such is his appearance in the miniatures. Since the author of the headings, according to the evidence presented above,³ confused the figures of the slaves, it is obvious that he did not understand why the second is shown holding the end of Demea's *pallium*.

¹ Ed. *Adelphoe*, 1881, *Krit.-Exeg. Anh.*, v. 380, p. 103.

² In F, the figure of Simalio is fourth. See p. 88.

³ See p. 118.

Believing this character to be the first speaker, he found the evidence with reference to the proper rôle wholly negative. Adopting his usual expedient of interpreting the pictures, he seems to have regarded the second figure as the personal attendant of Demea, and to have chosen the designation *puer* in order to distinguish him from the ordinary slave.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCENE-HEADINGS AND THE MINIATURES

In the discussion thus far, all places have been disregarded in which any comparison of the scene-headings with the miniatures is precluded by differences in their distribution. These places now require some notice. If the headings originated in the miniatures, there must obviously have been a time when their distribution was identical, and the variations which are found at 26 places in the mss. are to be explained as due to changes, either designed or accidental, made by copyists. These variations are doubtless the chief basis for the assumption that in origin, at least, the miniatures and the headings are in no way connected. To Leo and Schlee, who argued against the existence of any relationship between the two, differences in the division of scenes seemed to be decisive evidence.¹ Neither of these scholars recognized the possibility of changes in this respect, and in discussions about the principles followed in the distribution of scenes, the tradition of the mss. has usually been accepted without question.² While it is impossible to find direct evidence at every place where variations occur, enough is preserved, it is believed, to indicate that at one time the distribution of the headings and the miniatures was identical.

The differences between the mss. in scene-division are indeed important, but they have been accorded undue weight. No one, apparently, has remarked the absolute agreement of all classes of mss. in 124 places, or nearly 83 per cent. of the total number of places where either headings

¹ For the references see p. 108 f.

² See Dziatzko's 2d edition of the *Phormio*, p. 32 f., retained essentially unchanged in Hauler's revision, p. 47 f.; Dziatzko's edition of the *Adelphoe*, 1881, on v. 958, retained by Kauer in his revision, 1903. See also Hauler in the *Krit. Anh.* on *Phorm.* 2, 4 (v. 441). That changes have been made in scene-division was suggested by Spengel, *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad., phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1883, II, p. 284. See also critical notes by Spengel and Fairclough in their editions of the *Andria*, on v. 965, and by Dziatzko, Tauchnitz edition of the plays, 1884, on *Ad.* 924.

or miniatures are found. In view of this close agreement, it is difficult to believe that the distribution was made by two persons working independently.

Since the miniatures and the headings are usually found at the same places, it is natural that they should betray the same principles of distribution. In the illustrated mss. the text is divided in such a way that, with probably but two exceptions,¹ no scene contains characters who are not on the stage at the same time. It is this principle that makes it possible for the miniatures to present all the speaking characters active in each scene, and to give an appropriate picture of the action at the most important or dramatic moment. It is manifest that the artist could properly have adopted no other principle of distribution. Except in the same two places as in the illustrated mss., and in a third place where the variation is easily explained,² the headings follow the same principle. The fact that they are subject to restrictions which are necessary in the miniatures, points to their origin in illustrated mss.

The adoption of the principle of distribution described above did not determine the position of the miniatures, for the artist might have painted these in immediate proximity to the passages selected for illustration. If he seems frequently to have done so, it is only because in many places the passages, to which the illustrations refer, closely follow a change of characters. His second principle, in short, was that the text should be divided only at points where characters enter or leave the stage. The distribution of the headings was made according to precisely the same principle. In all classes of mss. alike new scenes almost invariably begin with the words of the first speaker after the change of characters. That this is no mere coincidence is shown by scenes where the text is divided at some unusual point. In four places of this nature new scenes are found in only a part of the codices,³ so that any comparison of the position of the headings with that of the miniatures is impossible. In two places, however, all classes of mss.

¹ In *Haut.* 4, 4, 21 (v. 743) it seems probable that three characters enter the house of Menedemus before Dromo is called out; cf. pp. 80 and 158 f. The second scene is *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), on which see p. 71.

² *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031); cf. p. 150 f.

³ *Haut.* 3, 3, 32 (v. 593), F; cf. p. 139 f.; 5, 2, 27 (v. 980), δ; cf. p. 155 f.; *Eun.* 5, 4, 21 (v. 943), γ; cf. p. 150; *Phorm.* 5, 3, 12 (v. 795), A, δ; cf. p. 151 f.

agree in a peculiar division of the text. In each place the first speaker is not the character entering, but one remaining on the stage from the previous scene. Thus at *And.* 3, 3 (v. 533) the new scene includes the entire verse, so that Simo is the first to speak. Properly it should begin within the verse with the first words of Chremes. This exception to the rule is more striking, since at *Ad.* 1, 2 (v. 81), under circumstances exactly similar, the words of Demea within the verse rightly mark the beginning of the new scene. The second place to which reference was made is *Eun.* 5, 3 (v. 910). After v. 909 Thais and Chaerea withdraw from the stage, but Pythias remains, and, until the entrance of Chremes with Sostrata in v. 912, is the only character on the stage. Her words are relatively unimportant, and have nothing to do with the purpose for which Chremes and Sostrata are brought upon the stage. The codices of Terence contain no parallels to the division of the text before v. 910.¹ The practice elsewhere shows that the point of division should not be at this place, but within v. 912. Under conditions precisely similar, no headings are found at *Phorm.* 219, but

¹ *And.* 1, 2 (v. 172) would be a parallel, were it not probable that Simo enters his house after v. 171, leaving the stage empty for a moment. If he does so, a new scene necessarily begins with his return. That he leaves the stage after v. 171 is the view of Wagner and Spengel. That he remains on the stage, a view as old as Donatus, was held by Bentley, who is followed by most recent editors. The arguments in favor of this position are given by Fairclough in critical and exegetical notes on vv. 171 and 173. But there is no evidence that the approaching wedding is announced by Simo to the members of his family before the end of the first scene. Simo's language in v. 47 does not necessarily, or even probably, refer to any one except Sosia. That Davus was regarded with suspicion by Simo, is clear from v. 159 ff., but Davus' own words in v. 211 f. show that Simo had this feeling previous to his announcement of the wedding. Moreover, several circumstances indicate that the announcement was made after the first scene. When in v. 161 Simo refers to the activity of Davus, he uses the future tense. Sosia's duty, as described in v. 165 f., is to frighten Davus and keep watch on Pamphilus. This requires that Sosia should be brought to the house before the announcement, for Simo aims to catch Davus and Pamphilus off their guard (cf. vv. 180 ff. and 360). It is certain that the wedding was not announced to Pamphilus until after v. 205 (cf. vv. 227, 238 f. and 253 ff.). If Davus knew about the wedding before the first scene, his delay in attempting to apprise Pamphilus of it is strange. For these reasons, it is probable that Simo leaves the stage after v. 171. If this is true, the correct reading in v. 171 is *sequor*, as given by Priscian, and, apparently, by C. *Modo* in v. 173 refers to the interval between vv. 171 and 172, a parallel to which is found in *Haut.* 563.

a new scene rightly begins with the entrance of Demipho at v. 231. In the two places, therefore, where any comparison is possible, the miniatures and the headings alike have the same unusual position. That this is due to chance is inconceivable.

Though the headings and the miniatures, with rare exceptions, are found only at places where changes of characters occur, it is not true, conversely, that such changes are always the occasion of new scenes. In all families of mss. alike, places are disregarded in which only a few verses intervene between changes of characters. The shortest scene occasioned by the entrance of characters has six verses; the shortest caused by their exit has seven verses. Disregarding changes which occur within these limits,¹ there are about 46 places where the entrance of some characters coincides with the exit of others, about 96 places where the only change is the entrance of additional characters, and about 42 places where the change consists of the exit of part of the characters active on the stage.² Since these three classes of places exhibit wide variations in scene-division, they must be considered separately.

In the 46 places where the entrance of some characters coincides with the exit of others, the text is regularly divided in A, δ . In γ , E, division is found in all of these except one, where the failure to divide can easily be explained.³

In 73 of the 96 places where the number of characters on the stage is increased by the entrance of others, the text is divided in all families of mss. In seventeen, new scenes are instituted in part of the codices. The failure to divide the text, though most frequent in the δ mss., is not confined to any family, the instances of such failure numbering three each in γ , G, M, five in A, six each in L, Paris. 10304, seven in E, and eleven in D.⁴ In the remaining six places new scenes are not found in

¹ Whether these limits were always observed may well be doubted. See p. 157 ff.

² Since the points at which characters enter or leave the stage are sometimes in doubt, the numbers given are only approximately correct.

³ *Ad.* 3, 5 (v. 511); cf. p. 156. On *Haut.* 4, 4, 21 (v. 743), which is excluded by the limit of six verses, see p. 158 f.

⁴ All places where variations occur, with a classification of the mss. at each, are given in the table on p. 140.

any manuscript.¹ This is the more surprising, since in nearly all of these the grounds for division are as good as at many other points where codices of all families agree in having it.

Where the only change consists in the exit of part of the characters active on the stage, scene-division is not the rule, but the exception. In only seven of the 42 places of this nature are the MSS. a unit in instituting new scenes.² In four of these the metrical structure remains the same, while in three it changes. In eight instances where characters leave the stage, the MSS. are at variance with respect to division. In these also the failure to divide the text is peculiar to no family of codices, the instances numbering one in G,³ three each in A, D, four in Paris. 10304, and five each in γ, E, L, M. In three of these places the metrical structure remains the same, while in five it is changed. The remaining 27 passages show no traces of division preserved in any manuscript, though in several of them it would be quite as appropriate for new scenes to begin as in some other places where the MSS. are in accord in having division. In four of them the metrical structure changes with the exit of characters,⁴ but in the remaining 23 it continues unchanged.

From the statistics presented above it is evident that places of the third class are in striking contrast with those of the first, and usually with those of the second class. If the tradition of the MSS. be accepted, a mere exit of characters was insufficient to cause scene-division, but the manner in which this was determined is far from clear. The length of the passage intervening before the entrance of new characters was probably one element in the decision. Of the fifteen scenes set off in part or all of the MSS. at the exit of characters, only five have fewer

¹ *And.* 4, 3, 7 (v. 722); 5, 2, 20 (v. 861); *Eun.* 3, 3, 25 (v. 531); *Hec.* 3, 2, 18 (v. 353); 4, 1, 7 (v. 522); 5, 3, 10 (v. 808). On *And.* 722, see p. 157. On the rest, see p. 160 f. *Haut.* 3, 1, 11 (v. 420) is not included, because it is possible that Menedemus is on the stage from the opening of the scene.

² *And.* 2, 6 (v. 432); 4, 3 (v. 716); *Haut.* 2, 1 (v. 213); 4, 2 (v. 668); *Eun.* 5, 3 (v. 910); *Phorm.* 4, 4 (v. 682); *Hec.* 2, 3 (v. 274).

³ The apparent superiority of G is due to the loss of two passages where the text is not divided in the rest of the codices of this family.

⁴ *And.* 3, 2, 44 (v. 524); *Hec.* 3, 1, 47 (v. 327); 4, 1, 51 (v. 566); *Ad.* 2, 1, 42 (v. 196).

than 20 verses, but of the 27 points at which no division is found, only three are as many as 20 verses before the entrance of new characters. There was a strong tendency also to divide the text where the exit of characters is immediately followed by some essential turn or change in the progress of the play. Changes of this nature usually coincide with changes in the metrical structure of the verse. Since in eight of the fifteen places where scene-division is found, the metrical structure changes, while this is true of only four of the 27 points where no division is found, it is evident that the content of the several passages was of influence in determining the question of division. Spengel's theory that at the exit of characters new scenes properly begin only when the metrical structure changes,¹ is untenable. Spengel himself recognized a few exceptions in part of the MSS. at points where such changes occur, but he mentioned none of the four places where all MSS. are opposed to his theory. Similarly at points where the metrical structure remains unchanged, he recognized a few exceptions in MSS. of Plautus, but he mentioned none of the four places of this nature in Terence. Against not only these exceptions, but also others in which the MSS. are at variance, Spengel's theory cannot stand. Changes in the metrical structure of the verse and division of the text depended in part on the content of the several passages, but there is no evidence that the division of the text was ever determined by the metrical structure alone.²

In spite of certain differences in the distribution of the miniatures and the scene-headings, the principles of distribution are identical in both. The three classes into which the scenes are naturally grouped by the entrance or the exit of characters, or by a coincidence of entrance and exit, are the same in all families of MSS. Moreover, the exceptions to the usual principles of distribution are about the same in number in all classes of codices, and are frequently found in the same places. Some of these exceptions are so peculiar as to preclude the thought of accidental agreement. In view of this evidence, it seems impossible that the distribution of the miniatures and the scene-headings should have been made by two persons working inde-

¹ *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1883, p. 273.

² The unusual position of the scene-headings in 8 codices at *Haut.* 980, and of the miniatures at *Eun.* 943 may be due to changes in the metrical structure in these places.

pendently. In all probability the distribution of the one was determined solely by the distribution of the other.

If scene-headings originated in illustrated mss., the differences in the division of scenes must be due to changes in the process of transmission. That such changes in 26 places are entirely possible is shown by a comparison of the mss. of the δ family, which clearly have come from a single archetype. These are at variance in scene-division in no fewer than sixteen places. Codices of the γ family are twice in disagreement. The distribution of scenes in the archetypes of these two families must be determined before any comparison of the several families is possible.

For convenience in reference a complete list of passages where variations in scene-division occur is given on p. 140.¹ For each place it is stated whether the occasion of the new scene is the entrance or the exit of characters, and the mss. are classified according as they have or do not have new scenes, or have lost the passage. The letters γ and δ denote the archetypes of these two families. Wherever the evidence, presently to be considered, shows that mss. of either of these families have varied from the archetype, they are included within parentheses.

In the illustrated mss. scene-division is indicated either by miniatures or by spaces left for their insertion. Scene-headings are usually transmitted with the miniatures, or in the spaces left for pictures, but it seems certain that the transmission of the headings in these codices has been different from that of the miniatures.² The pictures, therefore, or spaces designed for pictures, are the only certain indications of scene-division in the γ family of mss. Evidence of this nature shows that the γ codices are twice at variance in the distribution of scenes. Before *Haut.* 3, 3, 32 (v. 593), where no sign of division is found in any other manuscript, a picture is given in F.³ The evidence shows that it is a late addition either in this manuscript, or in some manuscript from which F is descended. It is painted two verses after the exit of Clitipho, the only occasion for a new scene. Though the author of

¹ A few places are omitted in which the Paris MSS. Nos. 7900 and 7903 have varied from the archetype of their family.

² See p. 163 ff.

³ This is reproduced by Cardinal Mai in *M. Acci Plauti Fragm. inedita, item ad P. Terentium Commentt. et Picturae ineditae*, p. 47. It is also given by Wieseler, *Theatergebäude* etc., Taf. X, 9.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN PASSAGES WHERE THEY DISAGREE IN SCENE-DIVISION

	Change of Characters	New Scene Begins	Preceding Scene Continues	Passage Lost
<i>And.</i>	1, 3 (v. 206) 5, 6 (v. 965)	Exit Entrance	γ, E A, γ, E	A, F, L, Par. 10304 F
<i>Haut.</i>	3, 3, 32 (v. 593) 4, 3 (v. 679) 4, 7 (v. 829) 5, 2 (v. 954) 5, 2, 27 (v. 980) 5, 4 (v. 1024)	Exit v. 591 Entrance Entrance Entrance Exit v. 978 Entrance	(F) A, γ, (D, G, M, Par. 10304) A, γ, E, (G, L, M) A, γ, E, G, M, Par. 10304 δ A, γ, E, (G, L, M, Par. 10304)	
<i>Eun.</i>	5, 4, 21 (v. 943) 5, 9 (v. 1049)	Entrance v. 941 Entrance	γ, (M) γ, (G)	G
<i>Phorm.</i>	1, 2 (v. 51) 2, 4 (v. 441) 3, 3 (v. 534) 4, 2 (v. 591) 5, 3, 12 (v. 795) 5, 5 (v. 829) 5, 7 (v. 884) 5, 9 (v. 990)	Entrance Exit Exit Entrance Entrance Entrance Exit Entrance	A, γ, E, (G, L, M, Par. 10304) γ, δ, E A, γ, E, (D, G, L, M) A, γ, δ, E A, δ A, γ, δ, E A A, γ, (L, M, Par. 10304)	O D G G F, G, O E, F, G, O
<i>Hec.</i>	3, 3 (v. 361) 5, 2 (v. 767) 5, 3, 18 (v. 816)	Exit Entrance Exit	(L, M) δ γ, δ, E	G G G
<i>Ad.</i>	3, 3, 10 (v. 364) 3, 5 (v. 511) 4, 7 (v. 719) 5, 5 (v. 882) 5, 9 (v. 958)	Entrance Exit & Entrance Entrance Entrance Entrance	A, (Par. 10304) γ, E E, (D, G, L) γ, E A, (D, G, L, M?, Par. 10304)	

the pictures was not free from blunders of this nature,¹ the unusual position of a miniature preserved in a single manuscript is strong evidence against its authenticity. Decisive evidence is found in the dress and gestures of the figures, which are out of harmony with those in the rest of the miniatures. This was noticed by Wieseler,² though he does not seem to have challenged the authenticity of the picture. Gestures with the left hand alone are not found elsewhere in the miniatures, but here both characters use the left hand only. This alone is sufficient to stamp the picture as a late addition, due, very probably, to the copyist of F. The second place where the γ codices disagree in scene-division is before *Haut.* 5, 2 (v. 954).³ At this point the miniature preserved in C pictures two different parts of the scene, but this is no valid ground for objection, as the grouping of the figures is entirely appropriate to the passages chosen for illustration. Against the grouping of the figures in F, O, P before v. 874, little can be said, but it is noteworthy that Clitipho and Syrus do not address each other in the presence of the two *senes*. The names in these three manuscripts before v. 954 are difficult to explain, but they may indicate that earlier mss. had spaces or pictures for this scene. The omission of the rôles in O, P at both places is evidence that changes of some kind have been made. In C, on the contrary, the rôles are regular at both places. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the tradition is correctly preserved in C. The grounds for the change are evident. According to the method of division in C, and in all of the non-illustrated mss. except D, Menedemus and Chremes are the speakers in two successive scenes (v. 842 and v. 874). As a result, the miniatures in C are very similar, and the headings in most mss. are identical. To produce a difference in the miniatures at the second place, the figures of Clitipho and Syrus, who enter at v. 954, were transferred to the picture before v. 874, and the picture at v. 954 was omitted.

In the non-illustrated mss. scene-division is indicated either by scene-headings or by spaces left by the copyist for their insertion. According to evidence drawn from both these sources, the mss. of the δ family are at variance in the distribution of scenes in sixteen places. At each of

¹ Cf. p. 150.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

³ The pictures at this place and at v. 874 are discussed above, p. 82 f.

these it is evident that part of the codices do not preserve the distribution of scenes which existed in the archetype. In the process of transmission either headings have been dropped from some of the MSS., or they have been inserted in others. In most cases it is not difficult to determine which of these changes has been made. Irregularities of any kind at such places give evidence of changes by copyists. Such irregularities are of several varieties. Headings for which no spaces had been left by the copyist are given in G, one in the margin adjacent to *Eun.* 5, 9 (v. 1049), another between the lines before *Phorm.* 1, 2 (v. 51). A space smaller than usual was left for the heading in Paris. 10304 before *Haut.* 5, 4 (v. 1024). The name of Clitipho is omitted in L before *Haut.* 4, 7 (v. 829), the name of Chremes in M before *Phorm.* 5, 9 (v. 990). Menedemus is named instead of Chremes in G before *Haut.* 5, 4 (v. 1024), Parmeno instead of Chaerea in the margin of the same manuscript at *Eun.* 5, 9 (v. 1049). The order of names is unusual in M before *Eun.* 5, 4, 21 (v. 943), and in L before *Phorm.* 5, 9 (v. 990). The entrance of Chremes before *Haut.* 4, 7 (v. 829) is marked in L by a heading which names Chremes with Syrus, but it is to be noted that Chremes is named also in the preceding scene, where he is not on the stage at all. Under circumstances precisely similar the name of Geta is repeated in L, M before *Phorm.* 1, 2 (v. 51), and the name of Phidippus in M before *Hec.* 5, 2 (v. 767). Though no heading is found in Paris. 10304 at *Ad.* 3, 3, 10 (v. 364), and though Syrus, who enters at this place, is named with Demea before v. 355, the full name *Syrus*, instead of the usual abbreviation, is given as the *nota personae* in v. 364. The word *IDEM* in D before *Phorm.* 5, 6 (v. 841) indicates that in some manuscript from which D is derived, Phormio was named before Antipho,¹ but this order is not found before v. 820, and could have come only from a heading before v. 829, where the text is not divided in D. That a similar change has been made in the order of the names, Demea and Micio, in D before *Ad.* 4, 6 (v. 713), is shown by the unusual order of the rôle and numeral, *DVO SENES*. The original order could have been derived only from a heading before v. 719, where no signs of division are preserved in D. Before *Phorm.* 1, 2 (v. 51) the peculiar rôle *FABER* seems to be assigned to Davus in

¹ See p. 167.

Paris. 10304.¹ The rôles, which are regularly given elsewhere in the plays referred to, are omitted in D before *Haut.* 4, 3 (v. 679) and *Phorm.* 3, 3 (v. 534),² and in M before *Eun.* 5, 4, 21 (v. 943) and *Hec.* 5, 2 (v. 767).

The peculiarities enumerated above can scarcely be found except in places where the δ codices are at variance in scene-division. They are confined to no single manuscript or group of manuscripts, the instances numbering three each in G, L, Paris. 10304, and four each in D, M. This source of evidence, available for twelve of the sixteen places under consideration, reduces the members of the δ family to agreement in four scenes, and indicates with reasonable certainty the direction of the change in eight other scenes, in any one of which all variations from the archetype must have been in the same direction.

In the remaining four places no peculiarities or other direct indications of changes are preserved. At *Haut.* 5, 2 (v. 954) it seems impossible to determine whether D has followed the archetype, or has varied from it, but in the other three scenes there can be little doubt that the headings transmitted in part of the mss. have come down from the archetype. So far as they can be tested by the rôles in D, Paris. 10304, they are perfectly regular. The incorrect division of the text before *Haut.* 5, 2, 27 (v. 980), instead of before v. 978, precludes the thought that the agreement of D, G, Paris. 10304 is accidental. The loss of division in G, M before *Phorm.* 4, 2 (v. 591) is probably an accident, since no provision is made for Geta, who enters at this point. The common original of these mss. very probably contained only the name Geta, the rôle, as elsewhere in this play, being omitted. Single names written in the line with the text were easily confused with the abbreviation of the same name employed as a *nota personae*, and were peculiarly subject to erasure or omission.³ The omission in L, M before

¹ It is to be noted also that the alternate arrangement of the names and rôles is found in but four other places in Paris. 10304.

² In the only other scene where the rôles are omitted in D — *Ad.* 3, 2 (v. 299) — they are also omitted in G, M, and the order of names is unusual in Paris. 10304. It is not improbable that the archetype of the family was without division of the text at this point.

³ Cf. Spengel, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc., p. 284. The omission of headings is probably to be explained in this way at *Ad.* 1, 1 (v. 26), G, M; 4, 4 (v. 610), M; 4, 6

Hec. 3, 3 (v. 361) might be explained in the same way, but it was more probably designed. Since the occasion of the new scene is the departure of two of the three characters from the stage, the headings here, as before *Haut.* 5, 2, 27 (v. 980), could have been dropped by the copyists without other changes.¹

From this discussion of the places where the δ codices disagree in scene-division, it seems reasonably certain that in six the headings and division of the text preserved in part of the MSS. are derived from the archetype of the family. In nine of the remaining ten scenes they were not contained in the archetype, but are later additions by copyists. The tenth scene is in doubt.

Since the distribution of scenes in the archetypes of the γ and the δ families has been determined,² we may proceed to a comparison of the several families of MSS. in this respect. In doing this it is convenient to divide the places where variations occur into two classes, the first consisting only of those where characters enter, the second only of those where characters leave the stage. The addition or omission of headings or miniatures in places of the first class required the omission or addition of names or figures of characters at the previous point of division, if all the characters were pictured or named in the usual way. At places of the second class, headings or miniatures could have been added or omitted without other changes. Changes in the first class were more difficult than in the second. This is particularly true of the miniatures.

Variations in scene-division are found in seventeen places where characters enter. Since in every instance the failure to divide the text violates the principles of distribution, it is probable, or at least not improbable, that new scenes originally began at all of these places in all classes of MSS. Modern editors have felt the inconsistencies of the MSS., and usually institute new scenes at these points.³ The failure to divide the text is peculiar to no family of codices, the instances numbering three in γ , five in A, seven in E, and fourteen in δ codices,

(v. 713), M. At *Hec.* 2, 3 (v. 274) the heading in D is written in the margin. At *Hec.* 3, 3 (v. 361) a name has been erased in E, and none is transmitted in L, M.

¹ See p. 155 f.

² On the archetype of the δ family at *Ad.* 5, 9 (v. 958), see p. 153 f.

³ In both editions Fleckeisen omitted division at *Eun.* 943 and *Ad.* 364. In addition to these, Dziatzko has no new scene at *And.* 965.

including at least eight in the archetype. The small number of instances in A and the γ codices is strong evidence that variations in division are due chiefly, if not wholly, to the omission rather than to the addition of headings and miniatures. The Bembinus and the γ codices, as compared with δ , E, must be supposed to preserve, with fewer changes, the original distribution of scenes, the Bembinus, because of its great superiority in age, the γ codices, because the difficulty of altering the miniatures must have discouraged any changes in division.

Another source of evidence is found in the part of a play in which the failure to divide the text most frequently occurs. Of the seventeen scenes under consideration, all but two are within the second half of a play, eleven are found within the fifth act, and nine within the last 125 verses of a play. This fact not only indicates that scene-headings and miniatures have been dropped from the text, but it also suggests the ground for this action. As copyists drew near the end of the several plays, they seem occasionally to have been constrained to omit headings or miniatures in order to save space, or to finish the rest of the play within a certain limit of space. In choosing places at which to drop the miniatures or headings, some discretion was used. In most cases these are separated from either the preceding or the following points of division by a small number of verses. In seven places, however, the nearest point of division is at least nineteen verses distant. All of these unusual exceptions to the general principles of distribution are found within the fifth act, and four of them are at the last entrance of characters in their respective plays.

An important source of evidence is available in the *explanationes praeambulae* transmitted among the scholia in the later codices.¹ These are introductions to the several scenes, the purpose of which is to show the connection of one scene with another, and to describe the circumstances under which the first, or, rarely, the first two characters speak. The date of their origin is uncertain. Wölfflin refers to their relatively good Latinity, and to their freedom from expressions peculiar to church writers, and seems to believe that they were comparatively early in

¹ A collection from C, D, E, G, M is given by Schlee, *Scholia Terentiana*, pp. 79-162. Selections from F are given by Cardinal Mai; for the reference, see p. 139.

origin.¹ That they were written by one person is shown by their diction and content.² Where the mss. are in accord in having scene-division, they are usually found, there being but seven exceptions.³ It is highly probable that they were written for these scenes also, but have been lost, for in several others they seem to have been transmitted in a single manuscript.⁴ It is true, moreover, that the scholia are usually wanting at points where changes of characters are not marked by new scenes in any family of codices.⁵ In nine places where the mss. are at variance in scene-division, no introductory scholia are found. That is, of the 26 places where division is found in part of the codices, the number that have no scholia is relatively six times as great as at points where the text is divided in all classes of codices. This justifies Schlee's remark that whenever the *explanationes praeambulae* are not found, this fact usually indicates that at such points new scenes were not instituted in the manuscript for which they were written. If this is true, it should be possible, by a comparison of the several families of mss., to determine which one was used by the author of the introductory scholia. It is certain that this was not a manuscript resembling the Bembinus, for in the two places where new scenes are instituted in A alone, no scholia are found, while in the two places where A is the only manuscript without division, the scholia are transmitted as usual. The inquiry must, therefore, be restricted to the γ and the δ families of codices. Disregarding variations in individual manuscripts, the archetypes of these families were at variance in fifteen instances.⁶ At all of the nine places where the γ family have new scenes, the *explanationes praeambulae* are found, while they are given at only three of the six places where the δ archetype had new scenes. Moreover, at one of the three points where

¹ *Archiv f. latein. Lexik. u. Gram.*, VIII (1893), p. 415. On p. 414 n., Wölflin expresses the opinion that the oldest portions of the scholia included by Schlee under the title *Commentarius Antiquior* might go back to the fourth century.

² Cf. Schlee, p. 48; Wölflin, p. 414 f.

³ *And.* 1, 1 (v. 28); 5, 5 (v. 957); *Phorm.* 5, 8 (v. 894); *Hec.* 2, 3 (v. 274); *Ad.* 4, 2 (v. 540); 5, 3 (v. 787); 5, 7 (v. 899).

⁴ Cf. *And.* 2, 4 (v. 404), C; 2, 5 (v. 412), C; 2, 6 (v. 432), M; *Haut.* 4, 2 (v. 668), E; *Eun.* 5, 2, (v. 840), E; *Phorm.* 4, 3 (v. 606), M; *Hec.* 5, 1 (v. 727), M.

⁵ Cf. pp. 158 f. and 162.

⁶ At *Haut.* 5, 2 (v. 954), where the archetype of the δ family is in doubt, a scholium seems to be preserved in F alone.

such scholia are transmitted, it is almost certain that miniatures at one time existed.¹ At the other two, pictures could have been dropped without other changes.²

In view of the evidence given above, it is more than probable that the introductions to scenes were written for an illustrated manuscript. To attack this conclusion, one must contend that they were written for δ codices which had new scenes in the nine places referred to above, thus admitting the former agreement of the MSS. at points where they are now at variance. The chief ground for Schlee's conclusion that the mass of scholia in the later MSS. was based on a δ codex, is the fact that they are best transmitted in members of this family.³ Wölfflin has shown that in all probability they were based upon a manuscript in which the order of plays was not that characteristic of the δ family.⁴ In his argument, Wölfflin seems to imply that the order of plays was that found in the Bembinus, but aside from the fact that there is little or no evidence of any connection between the scholia and the Bembinus, his argument is even better suited to show that the order of plays followed by the author of the scholia was that transmitted in the γ family.

We now turn to the consideration of passages where, on the entrance of new characters, new scenes are instituted in part of the MSS., and evidence of changes is preserved.

And. 5, 6 (v. 965). In the δ codices alone the text at this place is divided, the headings being regular in every respect, except that they name the same three characters that are named before v. 957. Since such a repetition of names elsewhere in this family is accompanied by unquestionable evidence that headings have been added,⁵ the regularity of the headings at this place indicates their genuineness. It cannot be proved that miniatures ever were painted before v. 965, but there is little room to doubt that they once existed before v. 963. The ancient commentary preserved under the name of Donatus gives as a lemma the

¹ *And.* 5, 6 (v. 963 or 965). This will be considered at once.

² *And.* 1, 3 (v. 206); *Ad.* 3, 5 (v. 511). On these, see p. 156.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 38, 48, 49 f.

⁴ *Archiv*, VIII, p. 418.

⁵ See p. 142 on *Haut.* 4, 7 (v. 829), L; *Phorm.* 1, 2 (v. 51), L, M; and *Hec.* 5, 2 (v. 767), M.

first words of this verse, *Quid illud gaudii est?* and adds the note *In aliis Davi persona infertur*.¹ The meaning of these words is that in the time of Donatus some codices assigned to Davus the question given in the lemma. In all our mss. it is assigned to Charinus. But if some codices in Donatus' time gave the *nota* of Davus before v. 963, this place rather than two verses below was the proper point of division in these codices. The *explanatio praeambula* transmitted at v. 965 is almost conclusive evidence that the text for which it was written was divided before v. 963. This note, regular in every respect, is as follows: *Davus solutus a Chremete incipit ire ad dominum Pamphilum, et dum secum loquitur, Pamphilus vidit eum venientem et ait*. This scholium cannot have been written with reference to v. 965, but confirms the remark of Donatus about the *nota* of Davus before v. 963. The clause *dum secum loquitur* clearly refers to the question *Quid illud gaudi est*, and the words *Pamphilus vidit eum venientem et ait*, can have reference only to *Davom video* spoken by Pamphilus in v. 963. The testimony of Donatus, supported by the introductory scholium, makes it reasonably certain that in some early codices a new scene began with v. 963. If the introductory scholia were based upon an illustrated manuscript, miniatures were painted before the verse named. Although this cannot be demonstrated, it is in the highest degree probable. The fact that the γ codices agree in giving the *nota* of Charinus before v. 963, is not a strong objection, for the same is true of all the rest of the mss. The Bembinus, which was written in the time of Donatus, or not much later, has the *nota* of Charinus. The remark of Donatus shows that this was true also of the codices upon which he usually relied. Since it is generally agreed that the δ family best represents the codices used by Donatus, we have left only illustrated mss. to which the notes given by Donatus and the *commentarius antiquior* can apply. It is probable, therefore, that the *nota* of Davus which once existed before v. 963 in the γ mss. has been changed in the process of transmission. That this might easily have happened is shown by the changes in *Eun.* 1037, to which allusion has been made before.²

¹ The copyist of D had observed this note, for he writes *in aliis libris Davi persona hic infertur scd. Don.* Cf. Schlee, *Schol. Terentiana*, p. 68.

² See p. 90 f.

It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, that in the time of Donatus, or earlier, illustrated manuscripts had miniatures painted before v. 963. If this is true, changes in the distribution of scenes have been made in the γ family, and probably also in the δ family of codices. The nature of these changes is easy to discover. The naming of Davus in the δ headings before both vv. 957 and 965 is evidence that his figure appeared in the miniatures before both scenes. His appearance in the miniatures at the first place is easily explained, for the artist, who regarded him as the first speaker in v. 963, must have supposed that he is on the stage and overhears Pamphilus in v. 961. Under similar circumstances in other places the figure of a character is painted in the miniatures of the scene preceding that in which he takes part in the dialogue.¹ Since the same three figures appeared before v. 963 as before v. 957, the omission of the miniatures in the later passage required no change in those at the earlier, and was an easy means of saving space in copying the remaining seventeen verses of the play. The order of names in the δ headings before v. 965 very probably gives the collocation of figures which existed before v. 963. The δ codices give the *nota* of Davus first before v. 965, but it was easy to transfer the heading, together with the *explanatio praeambula*, from v. 963 to this place. The miniatures before v. 957 have come down essentially unchanged.² At first glance the two young men appear to be engaged in conversation, but the second is not facing the first. The first figure represents Charinus in close observation of Pamphilus, who, in exuberance of good feeling, is addressing the audience. Davus, in a crouching attitude characteristic of him elsewhere in this play,³ grasps his scarf with both hands, and avoiding being seen by Pamphilus, is narrowly observing him, to discover, if possible, the cause of his elation.

Haut. 5, 2 (v. 954). The distribution of scenes at this place in the archetype of the δ family is uncertain. Whether like D it did not have division, or whether the failure to divide the text is due to the copyist of D, there can be little doubt that, as in F, O, P, a heading was omitted

¹ Cf. *Eun.* 3, 4 (v. 539); 5, 4 (v. 923); *Phorm.* 2, 4 (v. 441); *Hec.* 4, 2 (v. 577).

² A facsimile of the miniature at this place in P is given by Silvestre, *Paléog. Univ.*, Tome II, near the end.

³ Cf. *And.* 2, 5 (v. 412), and 4, 5 (v. 796).

at this point, in order to add two names before v. 874, thus avoiding a heading for the latter scene identical with that before v. 842.

Eun. 5, 4, 21 (v. 943). The division of scenes at this place is very peculiar, since it is found in the midst of the four verses spoken by Pythias. The miniatures may have been intended to mark the point at which Pythias speaks openly in the presence of Parmeno, the change being denoted also by a variation in the metrical structure of the verse. But since such a position is without precedent in the plays of Terence, it is probably to be regarded as an error, the proper place of division being before v. 941. Against the genuineness of the miniatures nothing can be said. The long *explanatio praeambula*, introducing the words of Pythias in v. 943, shows that the miniatures were found at this place by the writer of the introductory scholia. If the pictures were intended for v. 941, the figure of Pythias in the miniatures before v. 923 represents a mute character, but she is properly shown on the stage in this scene. Though she enters the house of Thais after v. 922, it is certain from her words in v. 941 f. that she returns to the stage in time to hear the boastful soliloquy of Parmeno. Except in Donatus and in M, which has varied from the archetype of its family, there is no direct evidence that headings alone ever existed before v. 943,¹ but they could easily have been omitted, for they must have contained the same names as the headings before v. 923.

Eun. 5, 9 (v. 1049). The last scene of the play, which marks the entrance of Phaedria, begins at this point in the γ codices, but in A, δ , E, the text is not divided. Because of this difference, the non-illustrated mss. usually have the names of five characters before v. 1031, where the miniatures have the figures of but four. At one time, however, all classes of mss. must have had division at both places, with the same number of characters in the miniatures and the headings. This is the only certain scene where characters who are not on the stage at the same moment are named together in the headings.² Parmeno leaves the stage after v. 1042 in quest of Phaedria, and there is no indication of

¹ In the codices of the Donatus commentary, a new scene begins at this place. See the edition by P. Wessner, vol. I, *Praef.* p. XLIX.

² On *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723), see p. 158 f. On *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), see p. 71, n. 1.

his return with Phaedria in v. 1049.¹ The fact that the names of Phaedria and Parmeno are united in the headings before v. 1031, is evidence that some change has been made. If the name of Phaedria be omitted from the headings transmitted in A, D, L, Paris. 10304, the remaining four names stand in the peculiar order of figures in the miniatures, an order which rests upon a distribution of *notae* preserved in illustrated mss. alone. We must suppose, therefore, that the name of Phaedria has been inserted in the headings before v. 1031 by later hands. Evidence to this effect is still found in δ , E. Though the names of the young men are given together as usual in the Bembinus, and Phaedria, the fifth speaker, is the second named, he is third in M, fourth in D, L, and fifth in Paris. 10304. His name is not given in E, G at all. Though the archetype of the δ family had no division of the text within v. 1049, no provision had been made for the name of Phaedria, which has been inserted by different copyists in the headings before v. 1031. For the several reasons given, the former division of the text in all classes of mss. within v. 1049 is well established.

Phorm. 5, 3, 12 (v. 795). The entrance of Chremes is the occasion of a new scene in A, δ , but there is no sign of division in γ , E. Before v. 784 the miniatures picture three characters, and the heading in E names three, but the headings in A, δ name but two. There is reason to believe that the illustrated mss. originally had the figures of two characters before v. 784, and miniatures with three figures before v. 795. In the discussion of the miniatures transmitted before v. 784, it was shown that they have not only an unusual collocation of characters, but also one that was impossible in an actual performance of the play. The latter circumstance is so unusual in the miniatures as to arouse suspicion about the authenticity of the pictures. It is further to be noted that this is the only place where the miniatures show two doors in one picture.² Turning to the headings preserved in A, δ before or within v. 795, we find that these also are very unusual, for Nausistrata, who would be the third speaker according to the usual method of division,

¹ It is possible, not to say probable, that in an actual performance of the play Parmeno returned with Phaedria, but the practice of the headings elsewhere is in question. These never name characters of whose presence there is no indication in the text.

² Cf. Wieseler, *Theatergebäude*, etc., pp. 66.

is the first to be named. This is explained by the position of the Bem-bine heading, which does not divide v. 795, but precedes it, a method of division which makes Nausistrata the first speaker. Since the headings in δ codices divide the verse named, it is probable that this was true of the archetype, but the fact that in these MSS. also Nausistrata's name is first, is proof of the origin of the family from some manuscript which had the peculiar division of scenes preserved in A. The headings in all of these MSS. are perfectly regular, and their genuineness is beyond question. In view of the inappropriateness of the miniatures before v. 784, and of the agreement of all classes of MSS. in peculiar division at two other places,¹ the conjecture is more than probable that miniatures at one time existed before v. 795, and that when these were omitted, the figure of Chremes was transferred to the picture before v. 784. In this way the unusual and unsuitable collocation of figures in the miniatures at v. 784 can be explained. If the figure of Chremes with the door on the right be dropped from the miniatures, the remaining two figures, with the door on the left, probably represent in all essential respects the conception of the artist. When the figure of Chremes was transferred, it was altered, in all probability, in neither attitude nor gesture. In the picture before v. 795, which must have been intended to illustrate the opening of the new scene, Nausistrata was the first character. The positions of the other two are given by the headings in D, L, which still name Demipho second, and Chremes third. In A, M, Paris. 10304 the names of the two *senes* have been reduced to the normal order, but the peculiar place of division still preserved in A, and once found in all classes of MSS., has caused the name of Nausistrata to retain its position. The collocation of figures to which the headings in D, L bear witness, was appropriate to represent the opening of the new scene. The grouping was such that for a moment after his entrance, Chremes might easily fail to notice his wife's presence on the stage. After catching sight of her, he could speak aside to Demipho, as he seems to do in v. 805.

Phorm. 5, 9 (v. 990). The unusual order of names in L, together with the omission of the name of Chremes in M, is almost certain evi-

¹ See p. 134 ff.

dence that the archetype of this family, like D,¹ had no new scene beginning with the entrance of Nausistrata. If this is true, Nausistrata should have been named with the other characters before v. 894, but this is done neither in D, nor in any other member of this family.² The omission of her name is sufficient evidence that this was true of the archetype. As happened in the *Eunuchus*, when the last two scenes of the play were united, no provision was made in the heading of the preceding scene for the character entering at the point where the heading was dropped.

Ad. 3, 3, 10 (v. 364). In all the later codices except Paris. 10304, which has varied from the archetype of its family, the entrance of Syrus in v. 364 is marked by a new scene. The Bembinus has no sign of division, but gives the names of Syrus and Dromo with Demea in the heading before v. 355, where the later codices (except Paris. 10304) name only Demea. Some manuscript from which the Bembinus is descended must have had the name of Demea alone before v. 355, with a new scene beginning within v. 364. The naming of Dromo in the Bembine heading, and the omission of Stephanio are inexplicable in any other way.³

Ad. 5, 9 (v. 958). With the entrance of Syrus within v. 958 a new scene begins in γ , E, but the δ codices have neither headings nor division of the text at this point. According to Umpfenbach and Kauer, the lacerated margins of the Bembinus give evidence that in this manuscript also the text was not divided.⁴ Whatever may have been true of the Bembinus, it is very probable that the archetype of the δ family had a new scene beginning within v. 958. This was the conclusion of Dziatzko,

¹ The Victorianus has, apparently, a heading written in the margin and intended for v. 986, the point at which Phormio first tries to call Nausistrata out of the house. The impossibility of this point of division, together with the peculiar features of the heading itself, proves that it does not rest on the authority of any manuscript.

² It is possible that Nausistrata was at one time named at v. 894 either in M, or in a manuscript from which it is derived. The manner in which Schlee gives the heading at this place seems to indicate that a space is found between the last two names.

³ See p. 127 f.

⁴ Since the Bembine headings elsewhere never omit the name of a speaking character, it is very probable that the heading before v. 924 named Syrus, but no part of this heading is preserved, and Kauer is not justified in stating this as a certainty. See his note *ad loc.* in his revision of Dziatzko's *Adelphoe*.

who called attention to the use of the Latin letter S, instead of a Greek letter, as the *nota* of Syrus in the heading transmitted in D before v. 924, and to the unusual position of the name of Syrus, which is found first of all in the heading in G at this place.¹ These facts were held by Dziatzko to indicate that the name of Syrus was not given in the archetype before v. 924, thus requiring that a new scene should begin with the entrance of Syrus in v. 958. Dziatzko's conclusion is confirmed by L, Paris. 10304, neither of which gives the name of Syrus before v. 924. Furthermore, the loss of the first half of v. 958 in L is best explained as happening when the heading was dropped. But the most important evidence of all is the fact that the unusual order of names found in G before v. 924 exactly reproduces the peculiar order of figures in the miniatures at v. 958. This proves that the heading in G was formerly given at v. 958. When the two scenes were combined, it was transferred to v. 924, where it displaced the rightful heading. It is certain, therefore, that the archetype of the family did not name Syrus before v. 924, but had a new scene beginning at his entrance within v. 958.²

In the discussion thus far the codices have been reduced to agreement in six of the seventeen passages where at the entrance of characters, they seem to be at variance in scene-division. Excluding E, which has derived its distribution of scenes chiefly from illustrated mss., but has to some extent been under the influence of δ codices, the number of scenes in which all variations have been explained is eight. In the remaining nine passages, the failure to divide the text occurs once in γ , three times in A, and six times in δ . In spite of the want of direct evidence of

¹ Tauchnitz edition, 1884, *adn. crit.* on v. 924. Dziatzko strangely misunderstood the heading made up by Umpfenbach at v. 924, for he seemed to believe that it was the heading preserved in the Bembinus.

² In the separate edition of the *Adelphoe* Dziatzko has no new scene at v. 958. In a note he held that the failure to divide the text at this place in A, D, G, was according to the usual practice when a slave is sent on a brief errand into one of the houses in the rear of the stage, and returns to find the same characters on the stage. Since Dziatzko abandoned this position in the 1884 edition of the collected plays, it would not be necessary to mention his earlier note, were it not for the fact that Kauer wrongly keeps it. At the return of Syrus in v. 958, he does not find on the stage the same characters that he left at his exit in v. 916. The passages cited from the *Eunuchus* are not parallels, for in these there is no entrance of a new character between the exit and the return of the character who momentarily leaves the stage.

changes, it is very probable that new scenes were originally instituted in all of these places. The naming of Davus before *And.* 5, 5 (v. 957) made it easy for the copyist of the Bembinus to omit the heading at v. 965 (or v. 963). Similarly, the naming of Pythias before *Eun.* 5, 4 (v. 923) suggested the omission of the headings before v. 943. Apart from these two scenes, the instances of failure to introduce new scenes when new characters enter, number one each in A, γ , and five in δ . With reference to the passage in the Bembinus, *Ad.* 5, 9 (v. 958), it must be remembered that the total loss of the heading at v. 924, and the almost complete loss of the text after v. 914 have removed any possible evidence of changes. The passage in the γ codices is *Ad.* 5, 5 (v. 882). Except at *Haut.* 5, 2 (v. 954), where F, O, P have varied from the archetype, no instance of a failure to begin a new scene in these codices is so unusual. If miniatures have been omitted at v. 882, those transmitted before v. 855 are the result of changes, for there is no reason for the appearance of the same characters in both pictures. At v. 855 Demea and Syrus are painted in the usual order. The attitude of Syrus, who seems to be stroking Demea's face, is very unusual. According to the dialogue in v. 886 f., this attitude would be better suited to Demea. While it seems probable that some change has been made, due, in all probability, to the omission of a miniature at v. 882, it appears impossible to determine the nature of the change. For the five places at which the text is not divided in the δ codices, there is a total lack of direct evidence. In every instance the names of the new characters are given in the correct order at the preceding point of division.

In eight places where characters leave the stage, the MSS. disagree in scene-division. In all of these but one, recent editors usually indicate new scenes.¹ Since in any instance the characters remaining on the stage were named or painted at the previous point of division, it was

¹ *Haut.* 3, 3, 32 (v. 593). *Haut.* 978, not v. 980, properly begins the new scene in the editions of Dziatzko and Fleckeisen (second). At *Phorm.* 2, 4 (v. 441), Dziatzko recognized that the failure of the Bembinus to have a new scene is a deviation from the usual rule, so he divided the text. Cf. Tauchnitz edition, 1884, *adn. crit. ad loc.*; also the separate edition of the *Phormio*, *Einleitung*, p. 32, n. 4. Hauler retained Dziatzko's note— Cf. *Allgem. Einl.*, p. 47, n. 5—but chose to follow the Bembinus. The grounds for division at this point are as strong as at vv. 534 and 682 of the same play.

very easy to drop the miniatures and headings, and when this was done, no traces of the change remained. Excluding *Haut.* 3, 3, 32 (v. 593) and *Hec.* 3, 3 (v. 361), where the codices have already been brought into agreement, the failure to institute new scenes is found twice each in A, δ , and four times each in γ , E. The superiority of A, due to its age, is again evident. The miniatures could be omitted without other changes, and as a result the number of omissions is in striking contrast with the number at points where characters enter. Except at *And.* 1, 3 (v. 206), where a note resembling an *explanatio praeambula* points to the former existence of miniatures, there is no direct evidence that either headings or miniatures have been omitted before passages in this class. But if the repetition of the figure of Davus at *And.* 963 caused the omission of the miniatures, or if both miniatures and headings have been omitted in some instances where the omission required the transfer of the figures or of the names of characters to the preceding point of division, it is more than probable that both headings and miniatures have sometimes been dropped where no further changes were necessary. The existence of division in one class of MSS. is strong evidence of its existence in the original from which the several classes have drawn their system of scene-division.

Ad. 3, 5 (v. 511), where the return of Hegio follows the exit of Demea, properly belongs to the class just discussed. Hegio is active in the previous scene, so that his figure at v. 511 in the γ codices, and his name in E could easily have been omitted. Since an *explanatio praeambula* is preserved at this place, the former existence of miniatures can scarcely be doubted.

The fact that in seven passages scene-division is preserved in a single codex or family of codices, suggests that in some instances it may have been lost altogether. The commentary of Donatus bears witness to the institution of new scenes at a number of places where the text is not divided in any of our MSS. In some of these there is no reason to doubt the evidence of the commentator, for in two passages, in harmony with his usual practice, he wrote notes on the content of the new scenes, and in one passage the Donatus MSS. preserve an appropriate heading. At *And.* 1, 2 (v. 175) the chief character of the play enters and the lyric measures begin. According to the practice elsewhere, a new scene should begin at this point. The miniatures at v. 172 repre-

sent the two characters in the usual order, Davus being seen as he enters from a door on the right. Against the pictures there seems to be no valid ground of objection. Since Davus enters in v. 174, the miniatures at v. 172 may always have contained his figure, and new miniatures, with the same two characters in the reverse order, may originally have been prepared for v. 175. Examples of such a repetition still exist in the illustrated mss., and there is reason to believe that this was the cause of the omission of miniatures at *And.* 963. Another place where Donatus found a new scene is *And.* 4, 3, 7 (v. 722). The miniatures before v. 716 clearly illustrate v. 721, and rightly contain the figure of Davus, who enters before this verse. An *explanatio praeambula*, typical in every respect, describes the circumstances under which Mysis first addresses Davus in v. 721. This fact seems to indicate the former existence of miniatures prepared for a new scene beginning with the words *mi homo* in v. 721. This point of division, though very unusual, is precisely similar to that at *And.* 3, 3 (v. 533). It is probable, therefore, that some copyist transferred from v. 721 to v. 716 the miniatures transmitted before the latter verse, and that he omitted a picture containing only the figure of Mysis. In the codices used by Donatus, the point of division had been changed so that the new scene began with the first words of Davus in v. 722. That a similar change had been made at *And.* 963 seems beyond question. The third place referred to is *And.* 2, 3 (v. 375), where the occasion of the division is the exit of Charinus. Since the characters remaining on the stage are both pictured and named before v. 338, the miniatures and headings at this point could serve for both scenes.

At these three points it is probable that both miniatures and headings existed originally, but that these have been dropped by various copyists until the codices have lost all traces of them. Since the failure to divide the text at each of these points is very unusual, it is surely possible that new scenes were at one time instituted in other passages where the regular principles of distribution now seem to be violated. If the entrance of Davus in *And.* 1, 2, 4 (v. 175) was the occasion of a new scene, the preceding scene had but three verses. For this reason the limits to the length of scenes noticed above will be disregarded in the following pages.

To the rule that new scenes begin at points where there is both an entrance and an exit of characters, the only exception, where none of the mss. indicate a new scene, is at *Haut.* 4, 4, 21 (v. 743). The commentary of Donatus on this play is lost, and no *explanatio praeambula* is transmitted at the point named, so that any traces of changes must be sought in the headings or the miniatures before v. 723. The δ codices preserve clear evidence that their headings at this place were derived from the miniatures in their present form. If changes have been made, the miniatures alone can betray this fact. Since these represent Dromo on the stage with Bacchis, Phrygia and Clinia, it was assumed in the interpretation that they were intended to illustrate v. 743, but it is very doubtful whether this is true. In picturing together on the stage characters who are not on the stage at the same time, they are without precedent, for it seems to be after the exit of the other three characters, not before it, that Dromo enters. Moreover, the gestures of part of the figures are unsuitable, if they refer to v. 743, but they are entirely appropriate to an earlier passage. Bacchis and Phrygia, who scarcely address each other after v. 735, appear in conversation on the left. The gesture of Bacchis is best regarded as accompanying her instructions to Phrygia. Clinia's hand is extended toward the two slaves, and he seems to be speaking to them, but he does not address Dromo at all, and speaks to Syrus only in v. 729. Syrus has his hand lifted to his face in an attitude which elsewhere denotes dejection or serious thought, an attitude which he can assume only early in the scene, when he hears the threats of Bacchis. The position of Dromo's arm, which is uplifted and extended backward, has no resemblance to a gesture. The position of the fingers is open to the same objection. For three reasons, therefore, the miniatures transmitted before v. 723 are such as to arouse suspicion. The fact that the gestures and attitudes of four figures refer to a passage earlier in the scene indicates that the figure of Dromo is a later addition. If this is true, there must have been a new picture where he enters, at v. 743, the new scene containing only Dromo and Syrus. Dromo, as the new character, very probably was painted on the left. When the miniature at this place was dropped, the figure of Dromo was inserted in the picture before v. 723, space for it being made by separating the figures of Clinia and Syrus. This explains the unusual order of Dromo and

Syrus in the miniatures. In other places where figures have been transferred from one picture to another, there was little change, apparently, in their attitudes. If this is true of Dromo, we must suppose that he was represented at v. 743 as half within a door, for in this way the peculiar position of his arm and fingers is easily explained.

At points where characters enter, the rules of distribution are violated six times, but if changes occurring within the limit of six verses be included, the number will be increased to twelve. At two of these, as described above, Donatus preserves evidence of the former division of the text. In the remaining ten places neither Donatus nor the writer of the *explanationes praeambulae* gives any indication of scene-division. If miniatures and headings have been dropped at these points, the change was before Donatus' time. Since changes of this nature required the transfer of names or figures, the headings and miniatures at the preceding points of division are the only source of evidence. Except at *And.* 5, 2 (v. 842), where the headings are in some disorder, and the miniatures are lost,¹ both have a normal order of characters. The headings in but one instance preserve any evidence of changes in scene-division. Against most of the miniatures also there are no grounds for objection. Those before *And.* 4, 4 (v. 740) illustrate vv. 3-5, including the entrance of Davus in the latter verse. Before *Eun.* 5, 3 (v. 910) they present the opening of the scene, and show Chremes and Sophrona as they enter in v. 3. The passage to which the miniatures before *Eun.* 3, 1 (v. 391) refer, is not clear, but the entrance of Parmeno scarcely needed to be indicated by a new scene, for it occurs after Thraso and Gnatho have spoken little more than three verses, and Parmeno has a very unimportant part in the scene. Similarly, the miniatures before *Haut.* 5, 1 (v. 874) are difficult to interpret. While there is no evidence of changes, it is to be noted that if the entrance of Chremes in v. 6 was the occasion of a new scene, the picture could have been transferred to the position before v. 874, for any distinction between the figures of the two *senes* seems impossible. In these four passages the small number of verses in a scene which a division of the text would have caused, may excuse the apparent violation of the usual principles of distribution. For the remaining five places

¹ See p. 168 f.

no such reason can be given, and in all of them probable evidence of changes is preserved. The miniatures transmitted before *Eun.* 3, 3 (v. 507) represent Dorias entering from the house of Thais, and seem to refer to the last verse of the scene (v. 538). But there is no evidence that she actually enters at this point, and we must suppose that she enters with Pythias in v. 531. Sostrata and Parmeno see Pamphilus at his entrance in *Hec.* 3, 2, 18 (v. 353), but in the miniatures transmitted before v. 336 they appear in earnest conversation, and neither of them pays the slightest regard to Pamphilus, who is shown coming from the door of Phidippus on the right. In the miniatures before *Hec.* 4, 1 (v. 516), Myrrina's gesture with both hands is more appropriate to her excited language at the opening of the scene, than to her forced composure after the entrance of Phidippus in v. 522. In the pictures before *Hec.* 5, 3 (v. 799), the attitude of Parmeno is not that of a person conversing with Bacchis, but is appropriate to his soliloquy in the opening verses of the scene, before he catches sight of Bacchis in v. 806. The miniatures before *Ad.* 2, 3 (v. 254) show Syrus addressing Ctesipho, and pointing to the house of Micio, from which he has just come. The figure of Syrus clearly refers to his words *Ellum, te expectat domi*, spoken after his entrance in v. 7. The picture seems appropriate in every respect, but not only the Bembine heading for this scene, but also the headings in the later codices before the following scene, show in all probability that the figure of Sannio was painted at one time in the miniatures before v. 254.¹ If the Bembine heading may be trusted, Sannio was shown between the other two characters. For this position no reason whatever can be found in the text. It is not improbable, therefore, that the original picture before v. 254 contained only the figures of Ctesipho and Sannio, and that a new picture containing three figures was prepared for the entrance of Syrus in v. 260. The brevity of the two scenes prompted a copyist to combine them. To do this, the picture at v. 260 was dropped, and the figure of Syrus was transferred to the third place in the miniatures before v. 254. At

¹ See p. 166 f. on the uses of *EIDEM* and *IDEM*. If the combined evidence of the Bembine heading at *Ad.* 254, and of the headings in the later codices at v. 265, show that the figure of Sannio once appeared in the miniatures at v. 254, the Bembine heading alone at *Phorm.* 4, 2 (v. 591) is strong evidence that the figures of Demipho and Chremes were formerly painted in the miniatures before this scene.

a still later period the figure of Sannio, who is a mute character, was omitted.

Another probable instance of the combination of two scenes, with a change in the miniatures preceding the first, is found in the last scene of the *Hecyra*. As has been shown above,¹ the only miniatures that contain two figures of one character are those transmitted before *Hec.* 841. It is possible to explain this as an attempt to present two stages of the action in a single picture, for while three characters seem to be on the stage, Pamphilus converses only with Parmeno in the first fourteen verses, and only with Bacchis in the following eighteen, after which Bacchis seems to leave the stage. In the miniatures, Pamphilus, the first figure on the left, is shown stroking the face of Parmeno. This part of the picture refers to v. 849 ff., where the youth, elated by the message conveyed through Parmeno, expresses his eagerness to reward him. The third figure represents Pamphilus in conversation with Bacchis, this part of the illustration referring to vv. 855-872. The miniatures seem appropriate, therefore, to present two parts of the scene. But miniatures of this kind are very rare, and never elsewhere have two figures for one character. More probably one of the two figures representing Pamphilus is due to a copyist. That the tendency to combine scenes increased toward the end of a play, is beyond question. Moreover, if the conclusions stated above are correct, the *Hecyra* has suffered changes of this nature in three other places. Finally, it is easy to account for the division of the text in what is now the last scene of the play. Bacchis seems to remain on the stage after v. 840, but the evidence that she does so is not decisive. As in three other very similar scenes,² the artist decided that Bacchis leaves the stage after v. 840, and returns before v. 854. Holding this view, he was required by his principle of distribution to prepare a picture for a new scene beginning with the first words of Bacchis in v. 855. Moreover, in his belief that Bacchis enters after v. 853, it is possible that the artist represented her in the original picture before v. 841. If he did so, the picture at v. 855 could have been omitted without any transfer of figures. Whatever may be true of the figure of Bacchis in the miniatures before v. 841, it is not probable that the second figure of Pamphilus was taken from the picture at v. 855, for it is strikingly similar in attitude to the

¹ See p. 66.

² See p. 68 f.

first. The slight change in gesture could easily have been made by a copyist.

In 27 places where the exit of characters occurs seven verses or more from any extant point of division, new scenes are not found in any manuscript. If the limit of seven verses be disregarded, the number will be increased to about 64, of which 50 are separated by not fewer than five verses from the nearest place of division. In but one of these is it possible to find in Donatus any evidence of the former division of the text. This is at *And.* 2, 3 (v. 375), which has been discussed above. Notes resembling *explanationes praeambulae* are preserved at but four of the entire number of passages.¹ In all the rest of the passages the silence both of Donatus and of the writer of the introductory scholia is positive evidence that they did not find new scenes. On any changes which may have been made before the time of the commentators, there is a total lack of evidence. It seems probable, however, that miniatures, and possibly headings, have been omitted in some of the places under discussion. At points where characters leave the stage, the codices are at variance in scene-division with relatively greater frequency than at points where they enter. This is especially true in illustrated mss. If both miniatures and headings have been dropped at places where this action involved the transfer of figures and names of characters, it is a probable conjecture that they have been dropped at some places where no such changes were necessary. Whether the artist painted miniatures for all of the 50 passages referred to, or even for all of the 27, may well be doubted. Passages at which division is preserved in part or all of the mss. indicate that the decision depended in part upon the length of the scenes, in part upon essential turns or changes in the course of the play. According to these criteria, the passages at which Donatus and the *explanationes praeambulae* transmit evidence of the former division of the text, were suitable places in which to institute new scenes. Beyond this point it is difficult to go, but it is not improbable that new scenes at one time were instituted in places where the metrical structure changes with the exit of characters.²

¹ *And.* 3, 2, 9 (v. 489); *Haut.* 1, 1, 115 (v. 167); 4, 7, 7 (v. 835); *Eun.* 2, 1, 19 (v. 225). The notes at *And.* 3, 2, 44 (v. 524) and *Haut.* 5, 2, 43 (v. 996) are too brief to be identified as introductory scholia. At *Haut.* 3, 1, 93 (v. 502), where Chremes temporarily leaves the stage, a typical *explanatio praeambula* is preserved.

² These are given on p. 137, n. 4.

THE SOURCE AND THE HISTORY OF THE SCENE-HEADINGS IN
ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

Until recently it has always been assumed that the scene-headings in the γ codices have had about the same history as the miniatures, and hence that they possess some measure of authority. This misconception has more than once led to the misinterpretation of certain of the miniatures. That the names are not always correctly assigned to the figures was recognized by Wieseler, and still earlier by Cocquelines, but neither of these scholars seriously questioned the traditional assignment. In 1893 the theory that the pictures and the headings were derived from different sources was advanced by Schlee.¹ So far as this theory relates to the transmission, it is beyond question correct. Since Schlee, in support of his position, cited only a few scenes in which no names are assigned to mute characters, or the assignment to speakers is incorrect, it seems advisable to give more complete evidence. The omission of names by the copyists of C, P occurs almost invariably in scenes where the order of figures is in some way unusual, or is difficult to determine.² Errors in the assignment are found chiefly in scenes where the collocation of figures is unusual. This is true of seven scenes in P, of eight each in F, O, and originally of twenty-three scenes in C.³ In addition to these, there is one scene each in F, O, P, and six in C, in

¹ *Scholια Terentiana*, p. 6 f.

² The complete list of such scenes is as follows: *And.* 1, 1 (v. 28), C; 2, 5 (v. 412), C, (so Paris. 7903); 3, 1 (v. 459), P, (so Paris. 7903); 3, 4 (v. 580), P; 4, 4 (v. 740), C, P, (so Paris. 7903); 5, 4 (v. 904), C, P; *Haut.* 4, 7 (v. 829), P; *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), C, P, (so Paris. 7903); 3, 5 (v. 549), P; *Phorm.* 2, 3 (v. 348), P; *Hec.* 1, 1 (v. 58), P; 1, 2 (v. 76), P; *Ad.* 5, 9 (v. 958), P. Except in P at *And.* 4, 4 (v. 740), *Eun.* 3, 5 (v. 549), and *Ad.* 5, 9 (v. 958), and in Paris. 7903, names have been added at these places by later hands. The names of mute characters are frequently omitted.

³ *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301), C; 2, 6 (v. 432), C; 3, 1 (v. 459), C; 3, 4 (v. 580), C, O; 5, 3 (v. 872), C, O, P; *Haut.* 2, 3 (v. 242), F; 4, 4 (v. 723), C, F; 4, 7 (v. 829), C; *Eun.* 2, 2 (v. 232), C, P; 3, 3 (v. 507), C; 3, 4 (v. 539), C; 3, 5 (v. 549), C; 4, 3 (v. 643), C, F, O, P; 4, 4 (v. 668), C, O, P; 4, 7 (v. 771), C, F, O, P; 5, 9 (v. 1049), C; *Phorm.* 2, 1 (v. 231), C; 2, 3 (v. 348), C, F, O; 2, 4 (v. 441), C; 4, 5 (v. 713), C; 5, 8 (v. 894), C; *Hec.* 3, 4 (v. 415), C, O, P; *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), C; 3, 2 (v. 299), C, F, O, P; 5, 7 (v. 899), F; 5, 9 (v. 958), F.

which later hands have added the names, or have changed the order, in either case with a wrong assignment.¹ This does not include three scenes in P where apparently no attempt was made to adapt the names to the order of figures.² Where the collocation of figures is normal, errors in the assignment of names are rare, there being but one instance each in C, F.³ This striking contrast suggests that the disagreement between the names and the figures is due to the normal order of names. This is true of four scenes in P, of five each in F, O, and was originally true of sixteen scenes in C. With these should be included *Eun.* 3, 5 (v. 549), O, and *Phorm.* 4, 3 (v. 606), F, where names have been added by later hands. Moreover, in *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643), F, O, P, and 4, 7 (v. 771), C, the incorrect assignment of part of the names is explained in the same way. This is true also of *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723), *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643), and *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), where the names, written in the normal order by the copyist of C, have been subjected to changes by later hands. In the rest of the instances, the error is usually due to the figures of mute characters in the miniatures. Rarely can more than a single scene be found in any manuscript in which the error in the assignment is not clearly due to the arrangement of the names in the usual order.

From the evidence presented above, it is a necessary conclusion that the miniatures and the headings in illustrated MSS. have come from different sources. If this is true, it is important to determine the family to which the headings belong. Schlee seems to hold that they came from δ codices, and in support of this view he cites certain scenes in which the headings in the two families are very similar. In reply it may be said that the resemblance is accounted for by the close relationship existing between the headings in all classes of codices. The headings in F may have come from δ codices, but this cannot be true of those in the rest of the illustrated MSS. Against such a view, nega-

¹ *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459), C; 5, 4 (v. 904), C; *Haut.* 4, 4 (v. 723), C; *Eun.* 3, 2 (v. 454), P; 3, 3 (v. 507), C; 3, 5 (v. 549), O; 4, 3 (v. 643), C; *Phorm.* 4, 3 (v. 606), F; *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), C.

² *And.* 3, 1 (v. 459); 3, 4 (v. 580); *Haut.* 4, 7 (v. 829). Cf. also one heading at *And.* 5, 4 (v. 904).

³ *Phorm.* 5, 6 (v. 841), C; *Ad.* 1, 2 (v. 81), F.

tive, but apparently decisive evidence is found in certain differences in the headings.¹

In members of the δ family the rôles, either in the same line, or in different lines, sometimes precede the names. This inversion of the usual order occurs in part of one heading in V, in six headings in G, in eight in D, in fourteen in M, and in fifty-three in Paris. 10304. Disregarding the heading in V, a total of 56 scenes are found in which at least one manuscript of the δ family gives the rôles before the names. Though Paris. 10304 includes most of the instances in the rest of the codices, the members of the family never agree in even a single scene. These facts make it certain that changes have been from the peculiar order, not towards it. It is more than probable that in some places such changes have taken place in all the mss., for in three scenes where the names are written in the first line, the rôles in the second, the Greek letters — *notae personarum* — are not given with the names, but with the rôles.² It is a probable conjecture, therefore, that the earliest δ codices had the rôles before the names in every scene. Of this peculiar order there is not a trace in the illustrated mss.³

Another mark of distinction is the form of the numeral in scenes which have characters of the same rôle. The form written by the copyists of the Bembinus and the γ manuscripts is invariably II and III, never the words DVO and TRES. In δ , F, both are used, the words instead of the arithmetical symbols appearing in one out of eight instances in G, in one out of three in V, in three out of nine in M, in three out of five in F, in fourteen out of thirty-five in D, and in twenty-eight out of thirty-six in Paris. 10304. The δ headings are frequently at variance in this respect, a result that is obviously due to changes.

¹ Since this test depends entirely on the rôles, which are seldom preserved in L, it is obvious that it cannot be applied to this manuscript.

² *And.* 2, 2 (v. 338), Paris. 10304; 3, 2 (v. 481), Paris. 10304; *Ad.* 3, 4 (v. 447), D.

³ In a number of δ headings written in one line, the rôles do not alternate with the names, but either precede or follow the names in a body. This is true of 11 headings in D, of 23 in G, of 24 in Paris. 10304, and of 28 in M. In a few scenes, characters of the same rôle are named together, followed by the rôle and numeral, after which the rest of the names appear. Of these peculiar methods of arranging the names and rôles, the first is never found in γ codices, the second, only at *And.* 3, 4 (v. 580), and 5, 4 (v. 904), where headings have been supplied in P by later hands.

There can be little doubt that in the form of the numeral, as well as in the arrangement of the names and rôles, Paris. 10304 best represents the archetype of its family. It is very probable, therefore, that the words DVO and TRES alone were employed in the earliest representatives of this family. The variation in F, which may indicate the source of the headings in this manuscript, is natural in a codex which has been under the influence of δ codices.

A third distinguishing mark of the δ headings is the use of the abbreviation IDEM. In the illustrated manuscripts the form is seven times EIDEM, and only once IDEM.¹ In three instances it is used with characters of the same rôle, while in all of the eight scenes it appears with the first of two or more names of characters who remain on the stage from the preceding scene. In the illustrated codices, therefore, these forms are invariably plural, and denote an identity of two or more characters in successive scenes. In the δ family, on the other hand, the form is IDEM in all of the eight scenes where the word is found.² In all of these, except *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265), it is not used with the first, but with the second of two names. In six scenes the characters referred to have the same rôle, while in two they have different rôles. In three scenes neither of the characters remains on the stage, in one scene one of them remains, and in four scenes both of them remain. In the δ codices, therefore, the word IDEM has two distinct uses. In four scenes it is singular in number, and denotes an identity of rôles of characters in the heading where it is used. In two other scenes it may have this meaning, or it may be plural and refer to two characters in the preceding scene.³ If the latter alternative is correct, the names, with the accompanying rôles, have been changed from the order of figures to

¹ EIDEM is used in *And.* 3, 4 (v. 580), C, Paris. 7903; *Phorm.* 1, 4 (v. 179), C, P; 5, 9 (v. 990), C, P; *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265), P, Paris. 7900; 3, 2 (v. 299), C, P, Paris. 7900; 5, 8 (v. 924), C, P, Paris. 7900; 5, 9 (v. 958), C, P. IDEM is used in *Ad.* 5, 2 (v. 776), O, P, Paris. 7900.

² *Haut.* 2, 3 (v. 242), D; *Phorm.* 4, 3 (v. 606), Paris. 10304; 4, 5 (v. 713), D; 5, 3, 12 (v. 795), D; 5, 6 (v. 841), D; *Hec.* 2, 2 (v. 243), D, G, M, Paris. 10304; 3, 4 (v. 415), D, M, Paris. 10304; *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265), D, G, M, Paris. 10304. In the place last named, the orthographical variant ITEM is found in G, M. In *Phorm.* 5, 8, 93 (v. 986), IDEM is given in a heading in D, but the heading probably has no manuscript authority. Cf. p. 153, n. 1.

³ *Haut.* 2, 3 (v. 242); *Phorm.* 4, 3 (v. 606).

the normal order. Before *Phorm.* 5, 6 (v. 841) and *Ad.* 2, 4 (v. 265), IDEM can only be plural, and refer to an identity of characters in successive scenes. In the first of these two places the position of the word must be due to a change in the order of the last two names. The second place is noteworthy as the only one where both EIDEM and IDEM are found. Both are plural, and afford positive evidence that, as in the Bembinus, all headings at v. 254 formerly contained the name of Sannio.

Since the headings transmitted in γ codices have no traces whatever of the three characteristic marks of the δ headings, the theory proposed by Schlee must be rejected. The source of the γ headings is to be sought in the family of which the Bembinus is the only survivor. Except in the order of names, which has been adapted in part to the collocation of figures, the headings in C, P differ from those in A only in the use of EIDEM (once IDEM) among the rôles. All other differences are trivial, and are easily explained. Whether EIDEM was employed in the original headings is a question to which I see no answer.

The history of the headings in illustrated mss., and through them the relationship existing between the codices, can be determined with reasonable certainty. The latest common ancestor of our illustrated codices had no scene-headings. From it two copies were made, through one of which F is descended, through the other, the rest of the members of the family. At some point in the transmission, headings were inserted in each of these subdivisions. Those preserved in F, and drawn probably from δ codices, may have been inserted in the first four plays only, with the exception of a few in the *Phormio*. These headings can have no connection with those found in C, O, P, and the two Paris. mss., Nos. 7900 and 7903. The archetype of the latter subdivision was supplied with headings from a codex resembling the Bembinus. Though some attempt at a correct assignment may have been made, the order of names, with few exceptions, was normal. In scenes where this order was not appropriate to the collocation of figures, various hands attempted to correct the assignment. The fewest changes were made in the codices from which C is descended, the most in those of which P is a representative.¹ Though these two manuscripts were written at

¹ Both in the miniatures, therefore, and in the scene-headings, the Vaticanus best represents the archetype of the family. Except in the *distinctio versuum*, it may well be doubted whether the Parisinus deserves the prominence usually accorded it.

about the same time, the headings disprove the common assumption that they are copies of the same original. The two Paris codices, Nos. 7900 and 7903, with rare exceptions, agree with C not only in the omission of the headings in certain scenes, but also in the order of names. Where the names written by the copyist of C have been erased or changed, the original order can be recovered from these two manuscripts.¹ It is possible that Paris. 7903 is a copy of C, but this cannot be true of Paris. 7900. The latter, and probably both, are copies either of the same original as C, or of a very closely related manuscript. The Dunelmensis, on the other hand, must be classed with P, with which it almost invariably agrees in the order of names. That it is not a copy of P, is shown by the fact that it has readings not found in the Parisinus, but given by other members of the family.² It must be regarded, therefore, as a descendant, and probably a copy, of the same manuscript as P. Any other conclusion is precluded by the close agreement of the two codices in the assignment of names.³ If this is true, there are strong grounds for suspecting the genuineness of the miniatures transmitted in O alone before *And.* 5, 1 (v. 820), and 5, 2 (v. 842). These were accepted by Hoeing without question, and influenced him greatly in his attempt to define the position of O among the illustrated codices.⁴ In the two scenes referred to, it is surely possible that, like Cocquelines, the copyist of O, or of some earlier manuscript, invented pictures of his own. If the headings in δ codices came from miniatures, these offer an easy means of testing the two pictures. It is significant that in neither scene is the order of names consistent with the order of figures.⁵ Before v. 820 this fact might be due to the confusing of the

¹ The only exceptions are *Phorm.* 2, 1 (v. 231) and *Ad.* 2, 1 (v. 155), where Paris. 7903 gives the names in the corrected order.

² Cf. Hoeing, *Am. Jour. Archeol.*, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 321 f.

³ The most notable example is at *Eun.* 4, 7 (v. 771). This place alone is sufficient to establish the close relationship of O to P.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 321 and 328.

⁵ The only manuscript giving the normal order of names at v. 820 is Paris. 10304. In this respect it is opposed to D, E, G, L, M, and to Paris. A of Donatus. At v. 842 the normal order depends upon the rôle of Dromo, which in D, Paris. 10304, is *Iorarius*, in G, *servus*. The former two codices give the normal order with the name of Dromo last of all. With them agree L and Paris. A of Donatus. But G also, with which E, M agree, gives the normal order, naming Dromo second.

two figures of *senes*, but no such objection can be made to the comparison in the second scene. The repetition of the rôle *servus* in G, and the use of a Latin letter in D, Paris. 10304, instead of the usual Greek *nota personae*, are surely traces of some change in the name of Dromo. In all probability this name formerly stood first on the left, with that of Davus second. In some codices, like E, G, M, the two names were interchanged in order to give the first speaker his usual position. In others, like D, L, Paris. 10304, the same result was produced by transferring the name of Dromo to the end of the heading. According to the evidence of the headings, the miniatures represented Dromo and Davus in contiguous positions, not, as in O, as far apart as possible. It is obvious that they should have been represented together, for Dromo is on the stage little longer than suffices to speak five verses. Moreover, the artist, in harmony with his usual practice, would scarcely have failed to show Dromo engaged in binding Davus, or carrying him away. For these reasons, it is probable that the two pictures under discussion are to be ascribed to the copyist of O. In seeking for the latest common ancestor of O and P, therefore, it is not necessary to look farther back than the original of the Parisinus.

CONCLUSION

It has been shown in this paper that the scene-headings and the miniatures usually have the same normal order of characters, and that, with rare exceptions, an unusual order of names coincides with an unusual order of figures, or preserves evidence that it formerly did so, or was intended to do so. Moreover, in scenes where the order of names is normal, and the collocation of figures is unusual, the headings in 8 codices usually, in the Bembinus less often, preserve traces of changes in the order of names. In a large number of places in this group the normal order of names could easily have arisen from errors in identifying figures. Lastly, evidence has been presented to show that differences in scene-division are due once to the addition of a picture by a copyist, nine times to the omission of either headings or miniatures. There remain but one heading each in E, G, L, and the later portions of D, and two each in D, Paris. 10304,¹ in which an unusual order of

¹ See p. 115, nn. 1 and 2.

names cannot be explained either by the collocation of figures, or by changes in scene-division. There are no exceptions whatever in A, M. The impossibility of explaining the eight headings referred to in the rest of the codices, or of finding direct evidence of the omission of headings or miniatures in sixteen places, affords no adequate ground for rejecting the theory here presented. I hold, therefore, that the scene-headings originated from miniatures, and that their distribution was originally identical. Errors in identifying figures show that the artist was not also the author of the headings. These were later made up by some one who sought out the names in the text and assigned them, with the rôles, to the figures in the miniatures. Wherever characters not named in the text appear in the pictures, the rôles alone were assigned.¹ To some of these, later hands have prefixed arbitrary names. For Terence, at least, this explanation removes the chief ground upon which Spengel and Seyffert denied the simultaneous origin of the names and rôles. There is no force in their further argument that in a heading like *Apoecides*, *Periphanes*, *senes duo*, the rôles could not, according to classical usage, have been in apposition to the names, and hence that the rôles were prior to the names. In headings containing characters of different rôles, each name originally was read with the appropriate rôle below it and in apposition to it. Wherever several names are found, any other explanation is impossible. In the heading given above, which is an example of one in which characters have the same rôle, the words *senes duo* are only a briefer form of *senex*, *senex*. That the latter form was the original one in some cases can scarcely be doubted.² There is no evidence, therefore, that the names and the rôles originated at different times. Since both clearly betray the influence of the miniatures, they must be ascribed to a single hand.

In the scene-headings we find the most important, though hitherto unrecognized evidence about the date at which the miniatures originated. Since the headings in manuscripts of Plautus must be included in any

¹ The word *prologus*, found in illustrated and non-illustrated codices alike, is probably only a rôle originally assigned to the figure of the character who speaks the prologue. Cf. Havet, Wölfflin's *Archiv*, II, p. 613.

² Cf. *And.* 2, 1 (v. 301), D; *Ad.* 3, 4 (v. 447), A. On the last named passage, see p. 125 f. It is very probable that this was the original form also in *And.* 2, 5 (v. 412), *Eun.* 4, 3 (v. 643), and *Phorm.* 5, 8 (v. 894).

discussion of this subject, a more thorough analysis of the evidence is postponed to a later paper. It may briefly be pointed out, however, that the presence of headings in the Bembinus, and the fact that they were used in Donatus' time,¹ fixes the origin of the headings as not later than the fourth century. In all probability they are older than the δ family of codices, which at the time of its origin, not later than the third century, must have been supplied with headings. A reasonable allowance of time will assign the approximate date of the headings to the second century, and of the miniatures to the first century, or even to the second half of the first century B.C., the earliest date suggested by Leo.

In the total absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must suppose that the γ codices are the best representatives of the manuscript used by the artist. But if Leo and Schlee are to be believed, the text of the earliest illustrated editions of Terence has utterly perished. The belief of these scholars that the γ family is only a later recension based upon a δ codex, constrained them to invent a codex of unknown family, and of the best period, which gave to the new recension only the miniatures and the order of plays.² This unwarranted assumption illustrates the weakness of their widely accepted views about the relationship existing between the several classes of manuscripts. It seems not too much to say that this old manuscript is wholly mythical and imaginary, for there is no evidence whatever of its existence. The certainty of the origin of the headings in illustrated mss. removes even the slight grounds upon which Leo and Schlee relied. Moreover, any suggestion that the earliest δ codices were illustrated, would be open to serious objection, for the archetype of the family clearly did not have new scenes in a number of places where the illustrated manuscripts have miniatures. Lastly, there is some evidence that the γ family does represent the text followed by the artist, for at *Eun.* 5, 8 (v. 1031), the order of figures is almost certainly due to a distribution of the dialogue found only in γ codices.

I conclude, therefore, that whatever changes may have been made

¹ Cf. *Praef.* to the *Adelphoe*.

² A protest against this theory is made by Pease in the *Transact. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1887, p. 40.

in γ codices, the text and the miniatures have been transmitted together. For some time after the origin of the headings, they must have existed in illustrated codices alone. Afterwards, either by recensions based upon a member of the γ family, or less probably, by a transfer from one family to another, the headings came to be used alone. Since in copying an illustrated manuscript, the headings were inserted last of all, it is not surprising that they were omitted at some point in the transmission, only to be restored later from a codex closely resembling the Bembinus. Beginning probably even before their separation, the miniatures and the scene-headings, both in themselves and in their distribution, suffered changes, either designed or accidental, until the relationship existing between them was obscured.

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C

Plate 1.

v. 784



P

Plate 2.

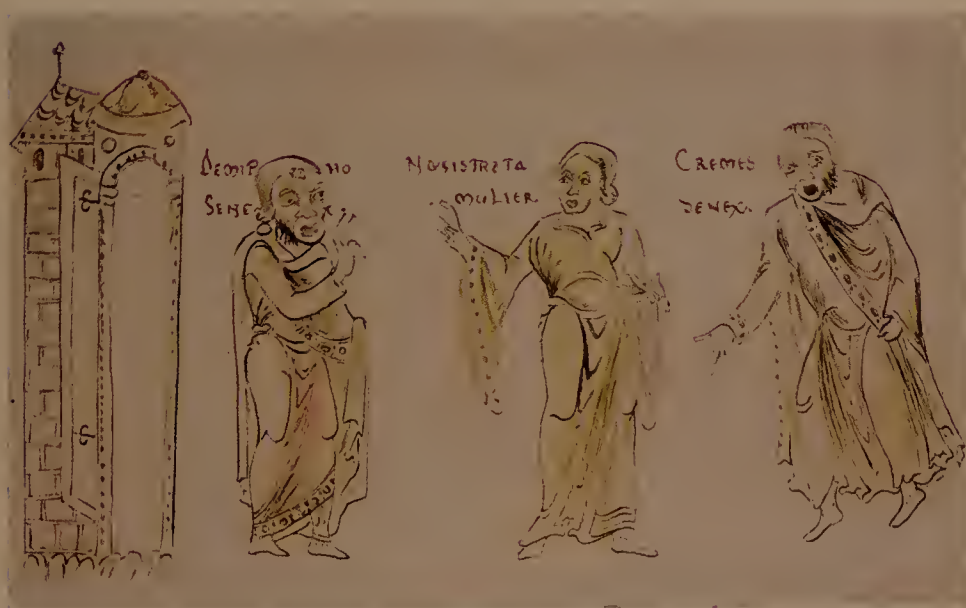
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F

Plate 3.

v. 784



O

Plate 4.

v. 784



C

Plate 5.

Larvae



P

Plate 6

Larvae



F

Plate 7.

Larvae

PROLOGUS



C

Plate 8.

Prologus



P

Plate 9.

Prologus



F

Plate 10.

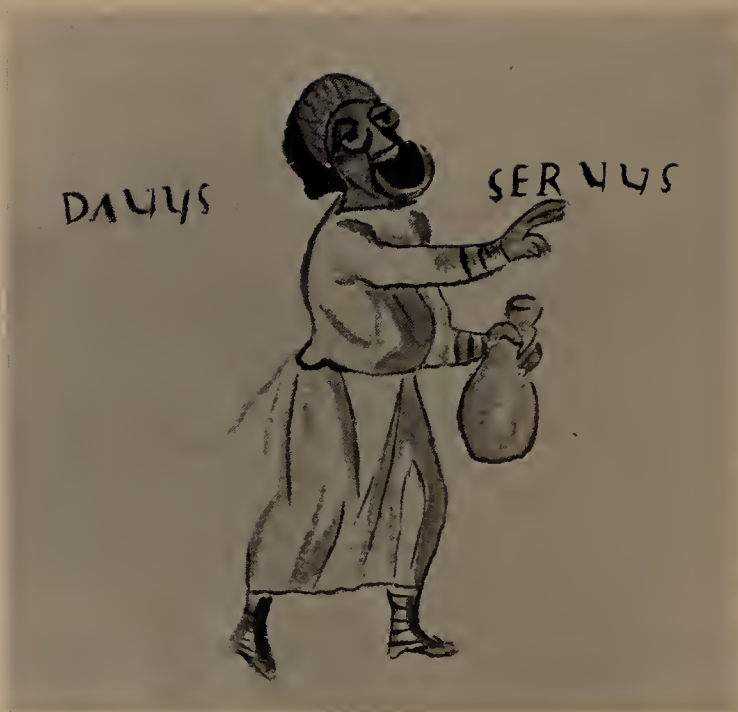
Prologus



O

Plate 11.

Prologus



C

Plate 12.

v. 35



P

Plate 13.

v. 35



F

Plate 14.

v. 35



O

Plate 15.

v. 35



C

Plate 16.

v. 51



P

Plate 17.

v. 51



F

Plate 18.

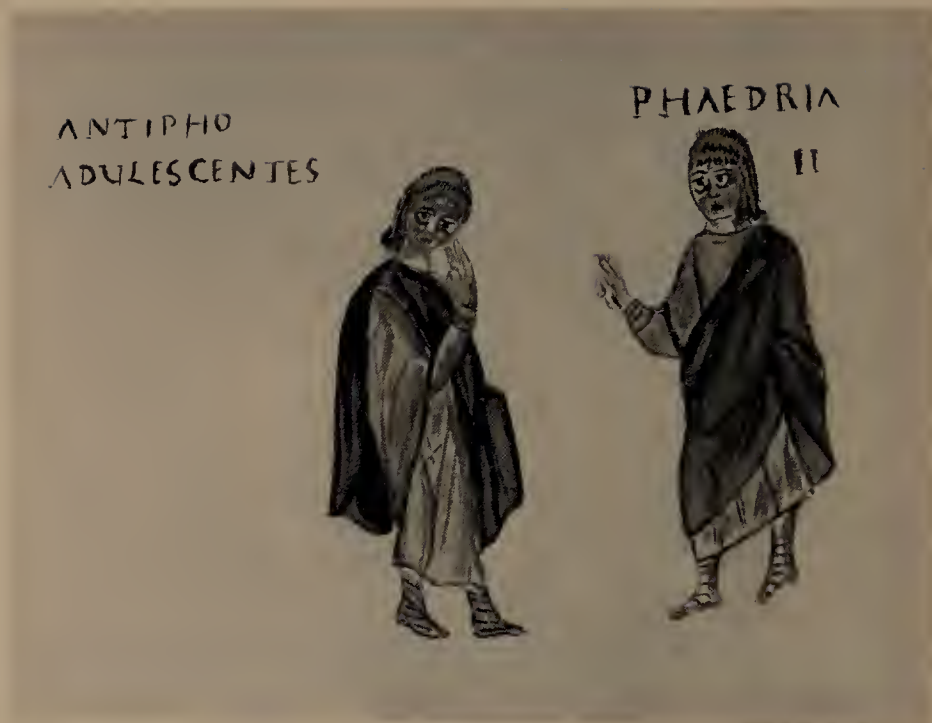
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O

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Plate 20.

v. 153



P

Plate 21.

v. 153



F

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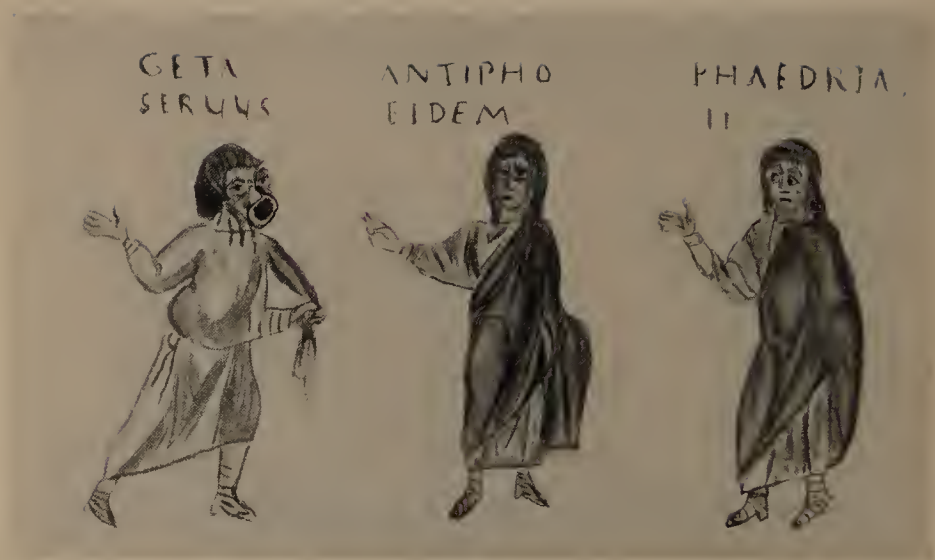
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O

Plate 23.

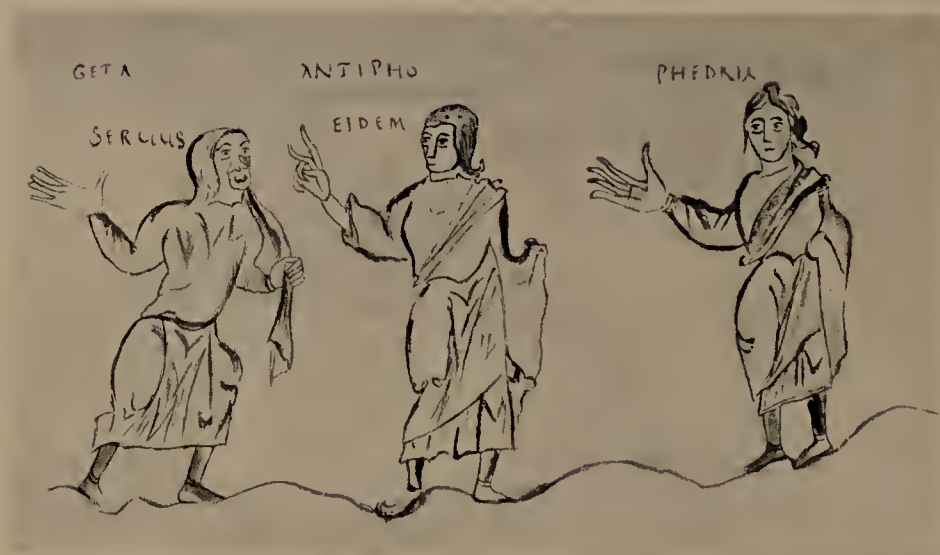
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C

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v. 179



P

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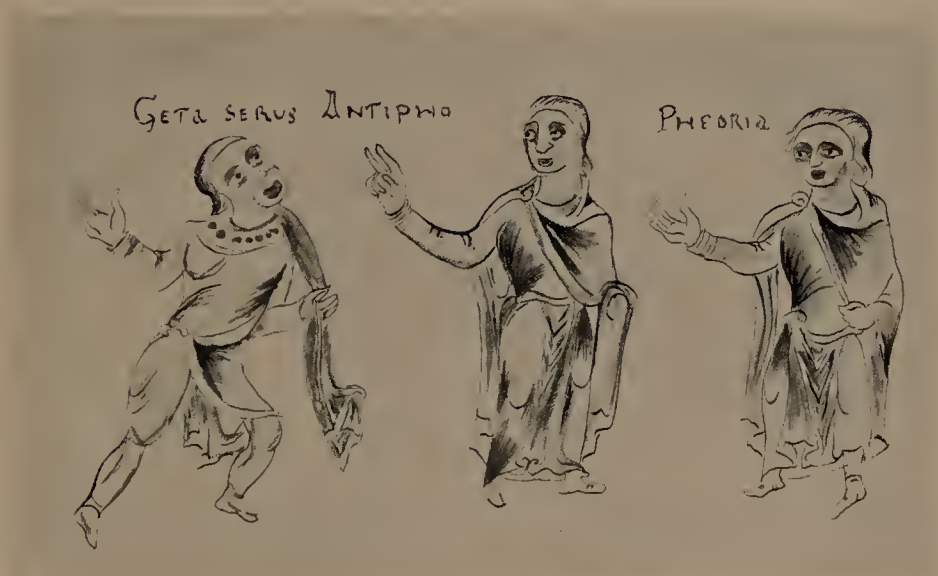
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F

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v. 179



O

Plate 27.

v. 179

DEALPHO
SENEX



PHAEDRIA

GETA SERVVS



C

Plate 28.

v. 231

DEALPHO
SENEX



PHAEDRIA
ADULESCENS



GETA
SERVVS



P

Plate 29.

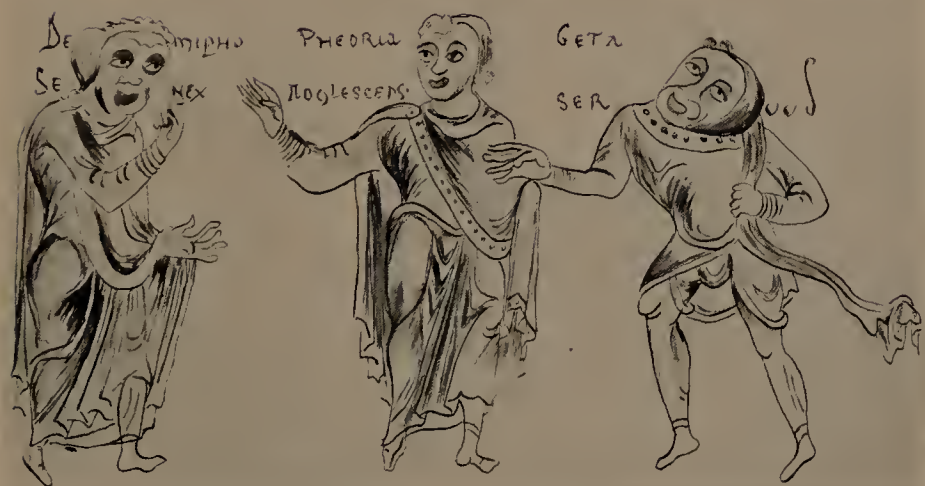
v. 231



F

Plate 30.

v. 231



O

Plate 31.

v. 231

PHORMIO PARASITVS

GETA SERVVS



C

Plate 32.

v. 315

PHORMIO

PARASITVS



P

Plate 33.

v. 315



F

Plate 34.

v. 315



O

Plate 35.

v. 315



C

Plate 36.

v. 348



P

Plate 37.

v. 348



F

Plate 38.

v. 348



O

Plate 39.

v. 348



C

Plate 40.

v. 441



P

Plate 41.

v. 441



F

Plate 42.

v. 441

ANTI PHO ADULESCENS

GETA SERUUS



C

Plate 43.

v. 465

ANTI PHO

ADU LESCE NS

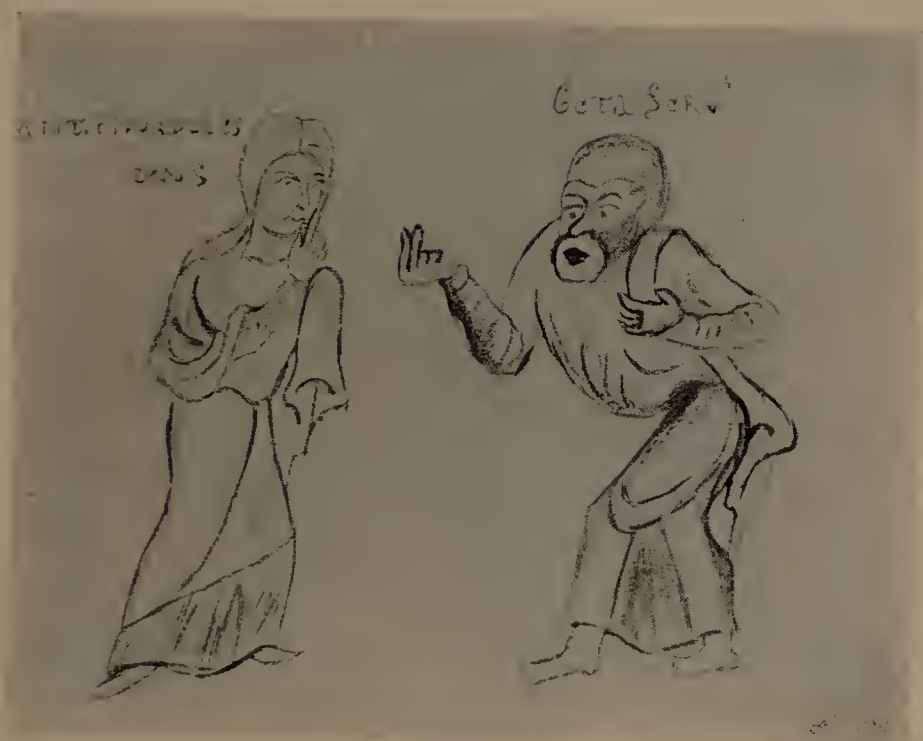
GETA
SERUUS



P

Plate 44.

v. 465



F

Plate 45.

v. 465



C

Plate 46.

v. 485



P

Plate 47.

v. 485



F

Plate 48.

v. 485



O

Plate 49.

v. 485



C

Plate 50.

v. 534



P

Plate 51.

v. 534



F

Plate 52.

v. 534



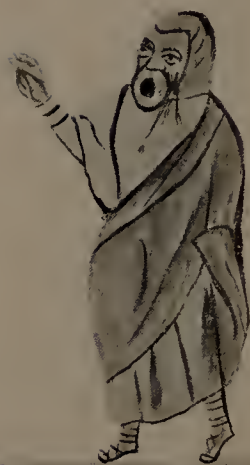
O

Plate 53.

v. 534

DEMIPHO SENEX

CHREMES II



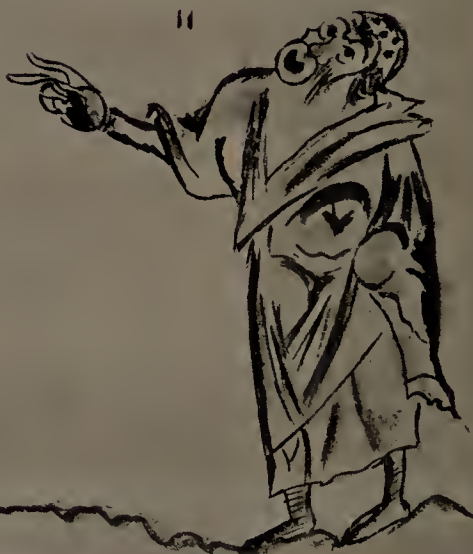
C

Plate 54.

v. 567

DEMIPHO
SENES

CHREMES
II



P

Plate 55.

v. 567



F

Plate 56.

v. 567



O

Plate 57.

v. 567



C

Plate 58.

v. 591



P

Plate 59.

v. 591



F

Plate 60.

v. 591



O

Plate 61.

v. 591



C

Plate 62.

v. 606



P

Plate 63.

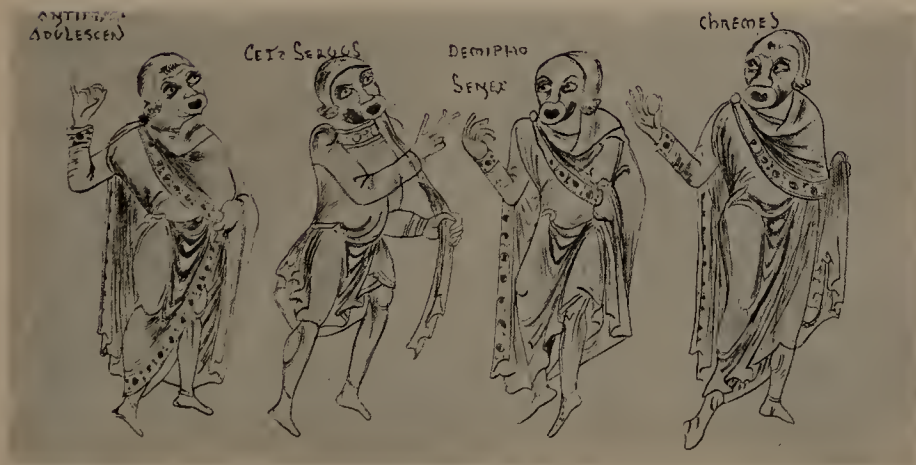
v. 606



F

Plate 64.

v. 606



O

Plate 65.

v. 606

ANTIPHO·ADULESCENS GETA SERUUS



C

Plate 66.

v. 682

ANTIPHO
ADULESCENS

GETA
SERUUS



P

Plate 67.

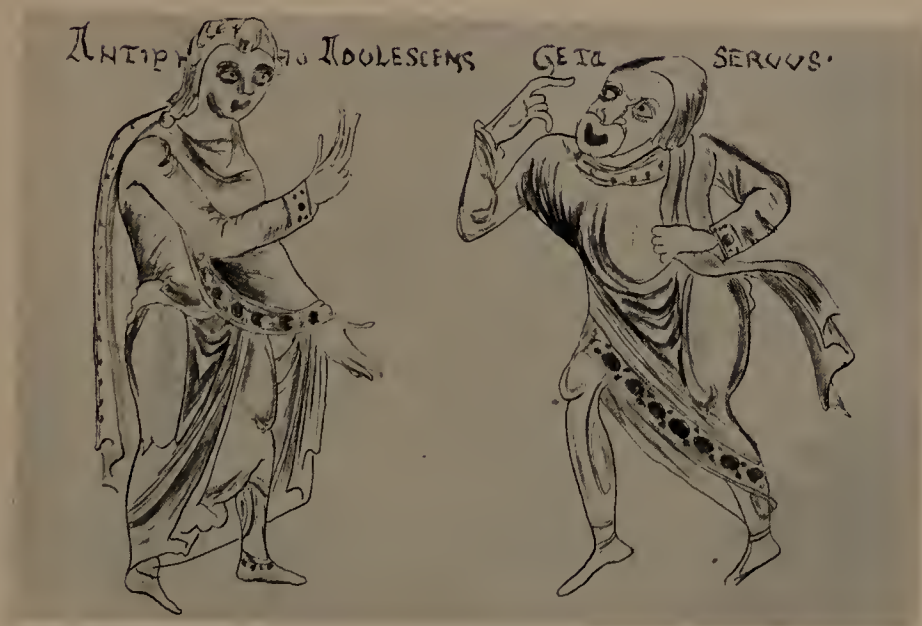
v. 682



F

Plate 68.

v. 682



O

Plate 69

v. 682



C

Plate 70.

v. 713



P

Plate 71.

v. 713



F

Plate 72.

v. 713



O

Plate 73.

v. 713

SOPHROMACHUS CHRIMES SENEX



C

Plate 74.

v. 728

SOPHONNA
ACHUS

CHREMIS
SENEX



P

Plate 75.

v. 728



F

Plate 76.

v. 728



O

Plate 77.

v. 728



C

Plate 78.

v. 766



P

Plate 79.

v. 766



F

Plate 80.

v. 766



O

Plate 81.

v. 766

ANTIPHO ADULESCENS



C

Plate 82.

v. 820

ANTIPHO
ADULESCENS



P

Plate 83.

v. 820



F

Plate 84.

v. 820

ADULESCES

ΑΥΤΙ ΡΗΟ.



O

Plate 85.

v. 820



C

Plate 86.

v. 829



P

Plate 87.

v. 829



F

Plate 88.

v. 829



O

Plate 89.

v. 829



C

Plate 90.

v. 841



P

Plate 91.

v. 841



O

Plate 92.

v. 841

PHORMIO CHREMES
 DEMIPHO SENEX PHORMIO PARASITUS



C

Plate 93.

v. 894

DEMIPHO PHORMIO CHREMES
 SENEX PARASITUS 11



P

Plate 94.

v. 894



C

Plate 95.

v. 990



P

Plate 96.

v. 990

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